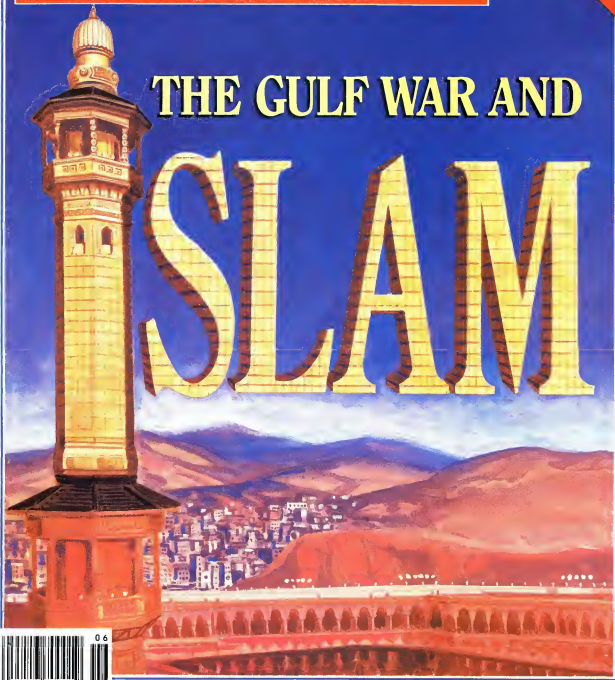


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CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE FEBRUARY 11 1991 NO. 124 NO. 4

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COVER

ISLAM'S 'HOLY WAR'

In a struggle that is as much mind game as military conflict, Saddam Hussein's lead ends into Saudi Arabia two weeks into the Gulf War reinforced his reputation as an astute tactician in the fight for political victories. That content was often couched in religious terms on both sides, at least implicitly placing the world of Islam in opposition to the Christian and Jewish "infidels." — 32

CANADA

TOWARDS TWO NATIONS

Premier Robert Bourassa's study group issued an ultimatum to the country: accept a radically decentralized Canada by fall 1992 or Quebec will hold a referendum on the right to declare its sovereignty. Initial reaction in English Canada ranged from anger and disappointment to studied indifference. — 12



WORLD

ANGER ZONES

After a month-long military crackdown on rebellious republics that caused 20 deaths, and a wave of demonstrations from the West, the Kremlin ordered the withdrawal of some of its troops. But Baltic nationalists insisted that the Soviet pressure had only strengthened the drive for independence. — 16



LETTERS

THE LESSONS OF HISTORY

What we should have learned from history is that if the Kaiser, Hitler, Mussolini, Stalin and many other despots had been stopped in their tracks, there would have been no First and Second World Wars, no Vietnam, no Korea and no massive slaughter of Soviets by their own leaders ("The end of chaos," *Cover*, Feb. 4). I believe that for the first time in history, we have a chance to stop some of these episodes, but only because Canada and many other countries have stood up to be counted and their stand helped our world.

R. K. Lapham,
PM Meadows, B.C.

Through the past weeks, one thought keeps running through my mind: the really are at war. What are the reasons? Arms manufacturers of the coalition have supplied both sides. Oil companies make record profits. Surely, money could not be the reason! I see a TV image of the faces of American war soldiers posing for battle trophies smiling faces that I do not see that is worth lying down their money.

Philip Milne,
Victoria

Britain and France had tried to forcibly erode Hitler from Austria, or later from Czechoslovakia, there were those who would have condemned them for warmongering, for unsolicited interference in other countries' affairs, for not giving diplomacy a chance. Those who protest the UN action today are the ideological descendants of those who believed so firmly in the virtues of appeasement in the 1930s.

Donald Gavigan,
Granville, Alta.

Regardless of all the reasons that have been put forward in justification of the war, one simple fact is that we in North America consume a mere five per cent of the world's population, yet we consume a disproportionate percentage of the world's resources. What we are fighting for is the consumption of this planet, with they want is a larger piece of the pie. We may win this war against Iraq, but can we win all of the wars against all of the Iraqs that are inevitable as long as this insatiable monster?

Richard Wankler,
Selby, B.C.

BACK TO SCHOOL

Alan Rothengatter's little hunter is calling Canada's spirit cramped? "The design of too much talk," *Column*, Dec. 31). To me, such a comment is derogatory to the Canadian sense



Canadian troops 'stood up to be counted'

and women in the Gulf who go daily in harm's way. Real fighters may be found in a Taiwanese scrapyard, but not in the Persian Gulf flying the Maple Leaf. A little bit of education might be in order before a repeat of such mockery.

Colin K. J. Puckett,
ANCA Ambassador,
Rialler

LITHUANIA MEASURES UP

Thank you for your comprehensive, well-written article on the events at the Baltic, specifically the bloody Soviet assault on Lithuania ("A Russian attack," *World*, Jan. 28). However, you refer to Lithuania as a "tiny" Baltic republic. You never refer to Switzerland, Denmark, the Netherlands or Belgium as tiny, yet their respective landmasses are smaller than Lithuania's.

Schwend Potvin,
London, Ont.

A WORRYING PRESENCE

I was probably just coincidence, but the photo of Prime Minister Brian Mulroney accompanying the article on notes assassination symbolically portrayed a worry associated in the article ("Facing the music," *Canada*, Jan. 14). Is it my imagination, or is there a hint of the little president John Kennedy peering up broadly over our Prime Minister's left shoulder?

Donald Smith,
Amherst, Ont.

Letters are edited and may be condensed. Writers should include names, addresses and phone numbers. Letters should be 100-150 words. Please send SASE if possible.

PASSAGES

DEED: Professional football's first superstar, Red (Harold) Gregg, 57, of pneumonia, in a Lido Villa, Fla. hospital. 896, commissioner Paul Tagliabue, credited Gregg, who died one day after the Super Bowl game, with giving "pro football credibility and recognition." As a University of Illinois running back, Gregg won three seven All-American honours between 1962 and 1965, scoring 35 touchdowns. In 1925, when professional football was only five years old, he joined the Chicago Bears and became widely known as the "Gallop Goat." At a time when professional football players made only \$200 to \$300 a game, Gregg made \$100,000 a year. He passed from football at 5'10".



Gregg

RETIRED: When the next federal election is announced, Liberal energy critic and veteran MP Robert Kaplan, 54, the former solicitor general under Pierre Trudeau, said that he has "always intended to return to private life as time to build a career." Kaplan was first elected in 1968, in Toronto's Don Valley riding. He lost the seat in 1972, but has been Toronto's York Centre MP since 1974.

DEED: The widely respected Ottawa business chief of The Financial Post, Myron Solomon, 57, of cancer, in an Ottawa hospital. Solomon spent the former newspaper as a reporter in 1965, when the Post was a weekly. He opened the paper's first Washington bureau and was posted to Ottawa in 1981, where he began writing his highly regarded column, "Inside Ottawa."

DEED: The former quarterback for the Toronto Argonauts and the Washington Redskins, Lee Thomas, 41, by actress Cathy Lee Crosby, 41, for \$5.2 million. In a lawsuit filed in a Los Angeles superior court, Crosby said that she and ex-boyfriend Thomas made an agreement six years ago to "forever combine their financial resources."

DEED: Two-time Nobel Prize winner and co-inventor of the transistor, John Bardeen, 82, in Boston. Along with two other scientists, Walter Brattain, who died in 1987, and William Shockley, who died in 1989, Bardeen developed the transistor in 1947. He received his first Nobel Prize in physics for that work in 1956 and his second in 1972 for his work on superconductivity.

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OPENING NOTES

Canada designs a new war medal, Hudson's Bay halts fur sales, and Saddam Hussein's bodyguard talks

REVENGE FANTASY

The man who claims to have been one of Saddam Hussein's bodyguards now says that he will kill his former boss. Karim al-Jabbari told *Al-Jazeera* from Paris that the Iraqi leader is "going crazy" and "must go." Al-Jabbari, 32, who left Iraq last September because he feared for his own life, also says that he has evidence of Hussein's sadism. Said this would-be assassin "I have seen him beat people with sticks, sleep by sleep, until it was to the bone." But al-Jabbari has not lived a model life himself. He says that he frequently carried out the Iraqi leader's orders to murder political opponents. Now, al-Jabbari has become a media star. He appeared recently on *60 Minutes* and told his story to the London tabloid *Daily Mail* and to the upstart U.S. Fox TV network's *A Current Affair*. Among his outrageous claims: that Hussein's father was, in fact, Jewish. Al-Jabbari says that he will seek out the Iraqi leader in the next few weeks to assassinate Hussein. "I will see that the job is done," he added confidently.

Al-Jabbari: still living by the revengeful sword



AP/WIDE WORLD

Down-and-out in Nova Scotia

While almost his only job at last, it appears that way for Michael Zaretski, the former Nova Scotia deputy minister who claimed during the summer that then-Premier John Buchanan, appointed to the Senate in September, had been involved in a widespread patronage operation. When Nova Scotia's health minister, David MacIsaac, revealed that Zaretski had earlier undergone psychiatric treatment, police charged MacIsaac with retaining confidential information. Now, Zaretski, age 61, who has been unemployed since he left the government in 1989, says that his unemployment benefits have run out and he cannot afford the \$40 round-trip bus fare to go from Sydney, where he lives with his wife, to Halifax in order

to meet his trial. Said Zaretski: "If I had a couple of hundred bucks, I would be there in a flash." Nothing in life is free.



Zaretski implicated the former Nova Scotia premier

AP/WIDE WORLD

THE SOUND AND THE FURRY

Although founded on the fur trade in 1870, the Hudson's Bay Co. announced last week that the department store chain would no longer sell furs. A company spokesman said that although anti-fur activists have long targeted the Bay, the historic decision was "strictly business." Animal rights leaders applauded the news. And, clearly, no one was happier than billionaire green magnate Kenneth Thomson, who has controlled the Bay since 1979. In a 1989 interview, Thomson declared "Furs a conservation sin, an animal issue." Better late than never.

Making money from disaster

Some economists claim that war boosts the economy. Indeed, the Gulf War will likely be profitable for one Canadian company. Vancouver-based Bennett Business Consultant Ltd. President John Bennett, who has been in the oil-spill cleanup business since 1968, says that his company is now filling orders from *Amoco*, the South Arabian oil company, for plastic booms and skimmers. He is also sending some of his experienced staff to the Gulf to help clean up the massive, war-caused spill. As a result, Bennett says that his company stands to make as much as \$4 million. The economic upturner of war.

SELLING LIKE HOTCAKES

As a result of the Gulf crisis, interest in war-related maps and books is booming. And bookstore owners across the country say that they are unable to keep up with the demand for new titles being long published. Said Robert Cole, a co-owner of the Greenville Book Co. in Vancouver: "People want about anything about the Gulf. They're hot started. We're also selling a lot of military histories." Added Roger Nelson, owner of Map Town, a specialty store in Calgary: "There has been an increased demand for virtually anything with the Middle East on it. A lot of people don't have a clear mental picture of the area."

Hammock popular



AP/WIDE WORLD



AP/WIDE WORLD

Military: a renewed interest

Military: a renewed interest. The biggest seller has been the hardy produced paperback *Saddam Hussein and the Crisis in the Gulf* by journalist Judith Miller and academic Laurie Mylroie. Other popular titles include *Apocalypse of Fear: The Inside Story of Saddam's Dragoon* and *The Rape of Kuwait*. Not every bookstore is happy about the heightened interest. Said Rick Ackerman, manager of the Coles bookstore in Toronto's Eaton Centre: "We should have been alerted in the Middle East a long time ago. It's sad that the Gulf War was necessary for us to become so concerned."

THE NEW RULES FOR COMBAT

The Canadian forces with the allied contingent in the Gulf War brought along their lawyers. Apparently, that is because there are newly defined legal ways of fighting wars, under additional protocols to the Geneva Conventions adopted by Canada last November, but not by the United States or Iraq. The new standards address the areas where humane conduct is required: limiting prohibiting attacks on civilian hospitals and towns. Said Naval Counsel William Patrick, an expert in international law with the Canadian Forces: "Just because the other side does nasty things doesn't mean that our soldiers are too." The defense department sent these lawyers to the Gulf—to help Canada's military observe the standards, said Patrick. When the going gets tough, the tough get a legal opinion.

A war over words

An inshore advertisement that ran recently in a *Midland*, N.S., weekly newspaper has unleashed a local fury. Headlined "Join the death squads," the ad in *The Mirror-Express* stated: "If you like the Nintendo game, you'll love the *Proton* Game. Get well, meet you to the game of hell. Call your Canadian Forces Recruitment Office today. Murder! Rape! Pillage!" The advertisement provoked a local furor and letters. Indeed, typewriter Kevin McDonald raged as general. Said MacDonald: "My brother is in the armed forces, and officers are regular members—I wasn't going to go for that." Last week, the paper ran an apology stating that it was misled by the ad. Philip Watson, a businessman who placed the ad, said that he wanted to draw attention to the legacy of war. But, he added, "In retrospect, I guess it seems foolish."

Parents' murder, rape, pillage

Missing medal

The outbreak of the Gulf War caught Canada without an official combat honor to bestow on any of its heroes. When



Beatty: top priority

Canada discontinued the British Victoria Cross in 1978, the nation was left without a specific medal for combat. Now, Bruce Beatty, an old federal government asset, is designing the first Canadian combat decoration. Said Beatty, who designed the Order of Canada award: "It became top priority as soon as the shooting started." A small reward for a big sacrifice.

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THE COVER

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COLUMN



Cold feet could lose the Gulf War

BY DIANE FRANCIS

The Gulf conflict is threatening to become a Vietnam nightmare. The Pentagon generally did not appear to have been as smart, or as successful, as many thought in the early days of the conflict. Despite protestations by President George Bush and others that this war's been Vietnam revisited, it certainly is beginning to look that way. The problem in Southeast Asia, the generals say, was that it dragged on for years because the full force of the American fighting machine was never unleashed against the enemy. Unfortunately, the same applies to the latest in the United States' political punches.

That, bombing attacks have been vicious, but the allies have so far been reluctant to hurl as often ground attack against the enemy and concern about large numbers of casualties. The United States says that it is not bombing civilian targets, a mere strategy which doesn't the enemy to hide military targets among civilians. Once again, the full force of the U.S. fighting machine is being held back against a ruthless enemy and such reluctance is Saddam Hussein's most powerful weapon.

There's more in the picture. A very talented Kuwaiti could never repeat future attacks, which means that, having the total destruction of Iraq, the allies may have to goad the power for years and be subject to guerrilla and terrorist acts by Iraqis. To us, it looks like Saigon and Northern Vietnam. The point of the problem is that Hussein is a ruthless but we, his enemies, are not.

U.S. generalists say that Hussein isn't a target of bombing attacks even though some observers feel his death may result in a surprise and a war. U.S. generalists emphasize that amphibious landings are being rehearsed, and then, a day or two later, the American people are told the Persian Gulf, causing one of the biggest environmental disasters in history and thousands of water supplies and amphibious landings. U.S. generalists emphasize that Iraq's presence is seen from embarking bombing attacks, to which the weather clears. Hussein sets Kuwait's officials

The full U.S. fighting force is being held back against a ruthless enemy, and such reluctance is Hussein's most powerful weapon

as fire as that smoke screen out surveillance. Hussein says nothing.

"The Americans have done everything wrong from Day 1," says former Israeli army Lt.-Col. Yoram Hamarachi, who now lives in an Israeli reserve in Little Grand Rapids, Man. "This is like pushing Hitler out of Europe without fighting him in the ground. Karmany was the beginning of the end, but the Americans are attacking on invasion day after day because of cowardice. The only case air attacks have worked was Hussein's and Saddam."

As soldier and academic, Hamarachi moved to the theatre as an adviser after his Israeli job at the University of Manitoba in Winnipeg was phased out. He is a Middle East expert with several books to his credit who has served as the command officer in the Israeli secret service at a military Liaison from 1978 to 1980. "The danger," he warns, "is the longer the delay in liberating Kuwait, the more likely Iraq will enter the conflict. Iraq from Iraq and means it out of Kuwait but ideologically it cannot allow itself to destroy a Muslim state. Some 100 of the (Hussein's) places are now safe, so he has said. The scene is not light back and he has no ally."

Israel's commander and last week that his country remains neutral in the war, but according to Hamarachi, "There are indications that (Iraq) provocations are there. The Iraqis and Iran have the Americans cannot both live without entering the war, and that would be a disaster." Even if the allies win the war, Iraq may end up with large portions of Hussein's arsenal. This means that Iraq, Saddam's Iraq must be dealt with again.

Christine Helms, a Middle East expert and corporate consultant in Washington, warns that even with victory, the coalition will face a troubled peace. Tens of thousands of U.S. troops would be sent to the Gulf. Helms argued against the war and in favor of continued economic sanctions, because, she explained later, the war will fail to solve the essential problems in the region—Palestinian rejectionism and the redistribution of wealth. In the Middle East, she says, there are about 250 million "have-not" Muslims and 18 million "haves."

Add Helms: "Before the war, there was growing suspicion that Arab states had to find commonalities and take history. This war creates dissension and fragmentation among Arabs. It also creates anger and resentment and probably the inability to recognize the fact that neighboring states have problems. If the Arab perception is that U.S. policy is pursuing destabilization and out to destroy Iraq, while capability, then there will be more conflict."

Neither problem for the region as the Saudis and Kuwaitis have each pledged \$15.5 billion to pay for short war costs. On top of that they must rebuild their economies, which means oil and gas must flow for years to Western firms helping rebuild and re-arm them. This represents, in effect, a massive redistribution of wealth from the Middle East to the West again, leaving little left to give the region's native have-nots.

As the war begins, another winner is Israel, says Hamarachi, secret service agent. Victor University of Ottawa, who co-edited last year's occasional two-volume *Key to Egyptian* about Israeli and American war. As a stranger level, he adds, will make it more difficult to solve the Palestinian problem. September-October.

"When the war is over, Israel must deal with the Palestinian problem that Israel will say. Look at the Palestinians. They were assisting the terrible war between Hussein. How could you have it to have a Palestinian state with terrorism on our border with Saudi coming over from next door."

If October, Helms and Hamarachi are correct, the Gulf War will become another Vietnam or Korea. And while most of the world did not agree with the Vietnam War, no less so must be the case for the allies to win the Palestinian conflict against Iraq. Let's hope Bush and the generals realize that there was only one by those who understand the full force of their fighting machine. Let's hope that they realize that after the war they must maintain most force all players in the region to solve problems. Anything less than righteousness against Hussein comes up for defeat.

TOWARDS TWO NATIONS

QUEBEC'S VISION OF CANADA STARTS THE COUNTDOWN TO A FATEFUL INDEPENDENCE REFERENDUM

The announcement last February appeared to mark the end of the last but not most effective young cards for hard-gained independence in Quebec. Amid the continuing acrimonious debate at that time over publication of the Meech Lake accord, Premier Robert Bourassa appointed a group of prominent Quebec Liberals to study future constitutional options for the province. Even if the accord failed, many analysts expected that the Liberal committee, headed by lawyer Jean Allaire and including many longtime federalists, would recommend relatively moderate alternative accommodations for Quebec within the Canadian federation. But on the day before the accord's collapse last June, a frustrated Bourassa reneged. "English Canada must understand very clearly that Quebec [a distinct society] capable of assuming its own destiny and development." Lost words, with a startling sweep and abruptness, the members of Allaire's committee gave dramatic impact to Bourassa's assertion.

The commission's report, titled *A Quebec Free to Choose*, proposed some conditions and a timetable for constitutional negotiations that would fundamentally redefine the Canadian nation. If implemented, they would profoundly reduce the influence and scope of the central government and vastly increase the powers and autonomy of the provinces. If the rest of the country accepted the proposals, Quebec would hold a referendum to give it the right to declare independence. Tabled as a ceremony in Quebec City on Jan. 29, the Allaire report said that other Canadians should consider its recommendations for a dramatically decentralized system of government over the next 10 months. But if no agreement is reached in that time, Allaire declared, "We will take our responsibility and become sovereign."

The report's release provoked a fire storm

of debate in Quebec that mirrored the Gulf War and the renewed love for the headlines. At the same time, it set off a reaction across the rest of the country that ranged from anger and disappointment to studied indifference. For the most part, political leaders and other Canadians said that the proposal as its present form has virtually no chance of being accepted. Declared Queen's University constitutional expert Thomas Courchesne: "Quebec is asking the rest of the country to change for its sake—and that is where it goes too far." Other experts said that even if the Bourassa government simply accepted the Allaire proposals to be an opening position, it was to estimate that it may alienate the rest of the country. Declared historian David Giesbrecht, director of graduate studies at the University of Calgary: "You can call this paper a list of things, but not a serious constitutional proposal." He added: "It can only persuade us that what is in it is outside the present psychoses of a lot of Quebecers."

Bourassa said last week that he still wants Quebec to remain in Canada, despite the apparent majority support in the province for independence. But he added: "We need a new Canada. The old one no longer works." And clearly, the Canada represented by the Allaire report, which was compiled under Bourassa's personal supervision, would be very different from the existing one. It would give Quebec exclusive jurisdiction over 22 areas, including telecommunications, education and language. It proposes sharing power with Ottawa across areas such as their foreign policy, taxation and justice. That would leave the federal government with exclusive control over just five areas: defence, transportation, monetary policy, customs and debt management. The report



Misalliance: potential for a major split among forces

also calls for outright abolition of the Senate. Regarding position, Bourassa said that he expected economic considerations to lead the country to accommodate Quebec within a special constitutional arrangement. But if that failed and Quebec had to assert its sovereignty, he added, he expected that Quebec and the rest of Canada would participate in an economic union similar to the European Community

Outside the province, however, few Canadians seemed to share that conviction, as even Bourassa's sense of urgency. Despite Allaire's list of tangible gains, political leaders were clearly distracted by other concerns. Declared Joe Stornelli, leader of Saskatchewan's New Democratic Party: "There is a preoccupation with the Gulf crisis and with the economy here, so I do not know if the Quebec proposals have much of an impact." In Montreal, Premier Guy Filion said that Allaire's proposal "represents a radically different vision of this

who prepared several draft papers for the Allaire group and that the recommendation to abolish the Senate came about "largely because nobody could be bothered to think about ways of reforming it." Added the party leader: "Senate reform is clearly something we are going to talk about if a majority would only make some compromises."

In Ottawa, the federal government was preparing to begin negotiations that would go at least part of the way towards achieving the goals that the Quebec committee called for. Advised by Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and convinced that the Conservative government had already assigned a team of senior civil servants to study ways of shifting significant areas of jurisdiction now controlled by Ottawa to the provinces.

Within Quebec, the depth of reaction over the constitutional issue was evident in the days following the report's release, even among traditionally federalist Liberals. The report itself still has to be debated—and will be amended or, indirectly, rejected—by the provincial Liberalists at a Montreal convention in March. Many provincial Liberals appeared eager last week to ensure the rest of Canada that they want to negotiate a new federal structure in good faith. At the same time, they said, the challenge for Canada to resolve the issue—now that a Quebec referendum on independence was necessary to appease the growing nationalist mood in that province. Declared Jean Paré, a Bourassa aide, of staff in the provincial office: "This is an important, but there is a deadline because we want to stop the uncertainty." Added Paré: "There will never be a perfect time to negotiate, so let us get the thing going now." But other Quebec Liberals, rejecting that conciliatory approach, expressed disappointment that the committee had not called for an immediate referendum on sovereignty. Said Herman Mathieu, a former Liberal minister of the National Assembly: "Why compromise sovereignty in front of Ottawa? Why not hold a referendum right now?"

The sharply contrasting reactions to the Allaire commission's report underscored the wide differences between perceptions inside and outside of Quebec of the extent to which constitutional reconciliation, said William Grogan, the multiphase representative on the 120-member Allaire committee: "There are a lot of problems we have to tackle—in particular, the split of misunderstanding. Two major cultural groups at this country."

That split is measured in part by the ignorance that many Canadians outside Quebec now display towards the province's demands. In the past year, polls have repeatedly demonstrated that a strong majority of Canadians

BACK ON THE WATERS

Most of Montreal's 20,000 swimmers returned to work after 60 per cent of them voted in favour of ending the long-mooted nary-nary in Canada's history. The swimmers, who began their rollout on Jan. 1, accepted a strict code that will increase average swimmer by between 16 and 13 per cent over two years. But up to 200 swimmers at several local beaches are said to stay on the picket line until a better settlement was reached.

PRE-ELECTION APPEAL

British Columbia Premier William Vander Zalm said that his government will from provincial taxes and the ways of politics and social public services as part of a program to fight the effects of the recession. In a televised address to the province, he said that there will be a reduction in taxes, land claims, taxation and constitutional issues at the time of the next provincial election, which he must call before October.

SHADOW CABINET SHAKEN

Federal Liberal Leader Jean Chrétien shuffled his cabinet just before he was sworn in. He said that he was leaving Hamilton for Sheila Copps, 38, who ran third in June's leadership race, as his deputy leader. Herbert Gray, 50, formerly a senior leader, became finance critic. Meanwhile, Education was moved to David Kilgour, 48, who was elected by the Liberal Conservative coalition last year over his opponent to the left, announced that he will sit in the Commons as a Liberal.

OILIA AFTERMATH

Justice Minister Jean Charest said it was the first session before parliament since the 1991 vote last year's 75-day armed standoff between Milwaukee and police over Oka, Que. She described Mohawks warriors as "an alternative" and said that they did not represent the mainstream of native society. Meanwhile, representatives later told the assembly that the police and military used unnecessary and brutal tactics during the standoff, and complained that Ottawa had ignored their concerns since the crisis ended.

THE PRICE OF PATRIMONY

Documents tabled in the Senate indicated that the rush of new Senate appointments in 1990 will cost taxpayers an extra \$4.5 million in the next fiscal year in salaries and administrative expenses. Prime Minister Brian Mulroney filed a second Senate audit in 1993 and appointed an additional eight senators as a successful bid to purport the upper chamber's approval of the act.

other provinces have to appear for the further discussion of constitutional reform and are increasingly prepared to risk losing Quebec's leave Confederation. In more than two dozen media interviews that Marlin's conducted across the country last week, Canadians overwhelmingly showed their agreement with the constitutional impasse. Said Brian Caplan, manager of an environmental store in Calgary: "As far as I am concerned, Quebec can go. Western Canada has a real deal, too, and we are not looking to get out of Confederation." In Toronto, Mike David Bird, a piano tuner and sales representative, declared: "If they want to get out, let them go. Quebec is like a spoiled child."



Pilgrims Rise (below): a cool political reception outside Quebec

Politicians of all parties across the country acknowledge that they cannot ignore those sentiments. In Ottawa, advisors to New Democrat Premier Bob Rae say that he is deliberately taking a reserved approach towards Quebec. That attitude contrasts sharply with the warm welcome that his predecessor, Liberal David Peterson, had extended to Quebec. But the sign of the change in tone emerged last week when Rae warned that Ottawa would not allow Quebec to negotiate a new constitutional agreement with Ottawa alone, as Bourassa has stated that the province intends to do. Said one advisor to Rae: "This week was a jolt for Quebec. They are used to Ottawa being Mr. Nice Guy."

In Ottawa, Mulroney said that he would not comment on the Alliance report until the Quebec Liberals have voted on it at their March conference. But interviews with Tory MPs from Quebec said the West revealed the potential for a major split in the party. Said one Quebec Tory MP, Marc Vézina, of the Liberal report: "That is what Quebecers want right now. And if that is what they want, we cannot really do anything but give it to them." But British Columbia Tory MP Stanley Wilson reported a different response after touring his Delta riding, south of Vancouver. Said Wilson: "There was complete rejection of these types of claims. People feel that Quebec is already getting concessions that others are not."

In the West, the proposal is already being viewed as a result of negotiations based on the Alliance report. There is strong support in the region for a reformed, elected upper chamber. Said Alberta Conservative MP Alfalfa Minister James Barragan: "We are not in favour of the current Senate. But its abolition is not the answer."

any negotiations with the rest of the country. And the Alliance report says: "We have bought ourselves a year and a half—and a lot of confusion in that time."

Other Liberals said that the Alliance report would divert attention from the deep rifts of Quebec's all-party commission on its constitutional future. That commission, headed by businessman Michel Bégin and Jean Charbonneau, is expected to report in a report due on March 28 either full Quebec sovereignty or a transfer of powers to the province that would be at least as dramatic as that envisaged by the Alliance report.

But the Alliance report may also undergo profound changes in the weeks ahead. For one thing it will be discussed by the Quebec Liberal party's 128 riding associations before delegates vote on its contents in Montreal. Some analysts predicted that by then, a cool response to the report from the rest of Canada could leave the party to adopt an even harder line—and more extensive demands. Said Coombe of Queen's: "If the reaction is too hostile in English Canada, that will aggravate things further in Quebec."

One thing is certain in the debate ahead: none of the voices heard will be discarded. Indeed, one of the few reasons that Quebecers and other Canadians agree on is the need to hear new proposals from the rest of the country. But with opinions polarizing around federal and widespread public distrust of politicians, it is not clear which leaders in English Canada possess sufficient support to influence the debate. At least one observer understands that problem from personal experience. Ontario's Peterson and his Liberals were thrown out of office in an election last September, less than three months after he played a prominent role in trying to salvage the Miron-Lalor accord. Said Peterson in an interview last week: "English Canada does not have any spokesmen because Canada isn't two distinct societies. It is almost five individuals."

But the report's firm language is one message that Quebec's "belligerent as usual" with Canada, one commitment a donor and that its original wording was far more inflammatory. As well, the document is first called for an immediate referendum, with the aim of dividing Quebec's sentiments even before the start of

negotiations with the rest of the country. And the Alliance report says: "We have bought ourselves a year and a half—and a lot of confusion in that time."

ANTHONY WILSON-SMITH is Ottawa's chief correspondent.

Back to Square 1

The Senate rejects new abortion legislation

Senators in politics are the choicest to be confused or the choicest to complete. When the Senate voted last week on whether to put abortion back into the Criminal Code, the outcome clearly reflected the fractured state of Canadian public opinion on the issue. Many senators went so far as to Others wanted even tougher restrictions on abortion than were contained in the Conservative government's proposed Bill C-43. Their disagreement left Canada with no national policy on abortion and uncertain over whether the procedure would be widely available.

Faced with a bill attempting to strike a delicate compromise between the opposing goals, the Senate balked. Proud from party discipline, an inability of senators opposed to the bill for contradictory reasons narrowly defeated it in a 43-43 tie vote—a clear majority of Senate votes is required for a bill's passage. With that, and Justice Minister Allan Rock, the federal government was given up as it sought to find a political middle ground on the issue of prenatal life and death.

But even with Ottawa on the sidelines, few observers expected the ongoing debate over abortion to subside. Activists on the so-called pro-choice side, which favors leaving the decision to women, expressed delight that the Senate had defeated a bill that would have required a doctor's consent for the procedure. But they also acknowledged that in the absence of federal legislation, some provinces may attempt to limit abortion on their own. At the same time, opponents of abortion in the so-called pro-life movement also cheered victory in seeing the bill defeated. They considered it to be a very real step towards a ban on abortion. In fact, the bill had been lobbed for the Campaign Life Coalition, for one. "We are happy the bill was defeated, but it is just a small step. We need a better pro-life law to protect the unborn."

But it is extremely unlikely that the Tories will produce any law. For one thing, Campbell himself expanded tremendous political capital in support of the bill that the Senate rejected. It also marked the end of a three-year attempt by Ottawa to restrict federal control over abortion. The Tories had sought to draft legislation over the summer, but decided the process would be too slow. In January, 1993, on grounds that the threat of criminal prosecution

could force women to carry a fetus to term—a violation of their constitutional rights. Last May, the House of Commons passed Bill C-43, which would again leave wide abortion legal, except when a single doctor stated that a woman's physical, mental or psychological health was threatened by her pregnancy.

The most devastating blow to the bill came from doctors. The law provided for penalties of up to two years in jail for any physician



Morganster removing the threat of prosecution

who performed an abortion. But could not prove that the patient's well-being had been threatened. Many doctors complained that no-one would make such a law to launch a blizzard of civil suits against those who performed abortions. On Jan. 17, Justice Kamir, chairman of the Canadian Medical Association, told a Senate committee studying the bill that 94 doctors had already stopped performing abortions in anticipation of such a ban. That Campbell told Marlin that the doctors were "staggering numbers." Said, many Progressive Conservative senators acknowledged that the doctors' complaints

constituted heavily to the bill's defeat.

And doctors were among those who most welcomed that outcome. Gynecologist Thomas Orr was one of four doctors in St. John's, Nfld., who stopped performing abortions last June. But with last week's assurance that the procedure would remain outside the Criminal Code, Orr said that he and his colleagues will resume the practice. Said Orr: "I think all gynecologists across Canada will be comfortable performing abortions again." And in Edmonton, Dr. Henry Morgentaler, the Toronto-based abortion campaigner who was the defendant in the case that led to the 1985 Supreme Court decision, called the Senate vote "monstrous." Morgentaler said that he had lobbied senators vigorously to defeat the "persecution" bill, adding that now "more doctors will be willing to work as a team to ensure that the threat of prosecution."

But the bill's defeat clearly does not ensure equal access to abortion across the country. Some politicians, including Campbell, predicted that without a federal law in place, individual provinces might set their own rules. In the legal world, Ontario, for one, has already indicated that it plans to open its own laws to expand access to abortion. And last week, Ontario Health Minister Ernie Eves said that the province would attempt to ensure doctors to perform abortions. By contrast, noted Leonard Clark, an associate professor of law at Dalhousie Law School in Halifax, "in some provinces, there is no positive right to an abortion." Said Giles Lawson, president of the Law Reform Commission of Canada, which argued strongly in favor of the bill: "We will see serious variations that provinces to provinces. This will harm Canadians without any standards."

In Ottawa, the defeat of the bill had political repercussions as well. Although senators were free to vote according to their consciences, many saw the Tories' legislative success with the issue towards the Senate Conservatives who voted against the bill. Other Tories accused Campbell and his staff of being convinced about the political threat to the bill. Indeed, some suggested that Campbell, who has said he is personally pro-choice, had "secretly hoped" the bill would be defeated. But the members vigorously denied those criticisms. "Anyone who thinks they are doing me a favor by voting against this bill is wrong," said the Minister. "We need to be clear. We need the law." In fact, he said, Campbell took that message in very serious the encountered. But his last-ditch move was ultimately unsuccessful as the bill floundered on the very divisions of opinion it was designed to bridge.

DRIVE WALLACE with GLEN ALLEN in Ottawa



Protest for state Latvians in Riga; Gorbovich (opposite): only for freedom in the former 'Prize of the Baltics'

WORLD

DANGER ZONES

On a bright winter day, the towers and church steeples in the centre of Riga evoke a half-forgotten description of the Latvian capital: before forcible Soviet occupation in 1940, said 32 years of independence, the 800-year-old city was known as the "Prize of the Baltics." In the cobblestone streets of the old city last week, concrete barricades around the republic's 18th-century legislature underscored the determination of Latvian nationalists to regain their freedom. Similar barriers also guard the parliament of neighbouring Lithuania and Estonia. Misled by poorly armed volunteers, they are defences against a Soviet military crackdown

BALTIC LEADERS ARE DETERMINED TO REGAIN THEIR INDEPENDENCE, AS THE KREMLIN PULLS BACK SOME TROOPS

that began early last month and that has included a bloody assault on a television transmitter in the Latvian capital of Vilnius and an attack on Latvia's police headquarters. Baltic nationalists insist that the Soviet pressure has only strengthened the independence drive. "It's unclear," said Latvian Vice-President Andrius Kravins, "the attack here shows it was dangerous if it is to resume in the Soviet Union."

Like the nationalist flags that now fly from Vilnius in the south to the Estonian capital of Tallinn in the north, the barriers around the parliament buildings signify the growing legitimacy of these small states, with a combined population of only eight million, to break free

from a union of 298 million people. More than 200,000 Soviet troops are permanently stationed on the strategically important Baltics. And apologists for that vast regional force dismissed the hastily erected barricades as propaganda devices with no military significance. But last week's developments, the resolve manifested by those civic fortifications had halted—if only temporarily—military actions against the secessionist-minded Baltic states. In Washington, President George Bush, citing a message relayed by Soviet Foreign Secretary Alexander Gromyko, said that the Kremlin had promised to "move away from violence." And in Moscow, Soviet spokesmen announced that the paratroop units that the central government had sent to the Baltics early last month, ostensibly to guard oil-drift reservoirs, had been withdrawn.

Despite these actions, and the prospect of improved relations with Moscow, Baltic spokesmen said that they were not about to desist from the barricades. Throughout the region and in other republics, as fact, critics including Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin repeated warnings that the Kremlin's current anti-secessionist stance signified an emerging dictatorship. Among their complaints was a so-called black-lighting device ordering soldiers to join police actions in Soviet cities. That doctrine, signed by Soviet Defence Minister Dmitri Yezhov and Interior Minister Boris Pugo, has said that force must be used to bring down the leaders of the republics, including Lithuania and Estonia, who have condemned the paratroop as another step towards martial law.

In response to such criticisms of military, Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev issued a separate decree last week that forbade army-police patrols without the consent of city governments. But even though the Moscow city council condemned the paratroop, 36 soldiers reported for duty at the capital's new railway station on Friday. Gen. Mikhail Markov, commander of Soviet Defence Ministry units in Moscow, said that the troops would operate in four-man patrols a policeman and an army officer carrying pistols and two soldiers equipped with assault rifles. Up to 546 soldiers there would patrol the city after dark. But according to Markov, no soldiers would be deployed during mass demonstrations and, he added, "There will be no tank, not one armoured personnel carrier."

The Baltic states are clearly affected by nationalistic acts such as those concerning post orders and a recent decree ordering the withdrawal of 50- and 100-ruble notes. Gorbachev has ordered the withdrawal of large amounts of money owed on the black market. But critics argue that the withdrawal

had actually hurt workers with savings in large bills held away to home. In Tallinn, Estonian leaders said that Moscow had stepped on promises of greater financial autonomy for the republic. And Ren Ottosen, president of the state of Estonia, "Moscow is removing central control over the republics. This means we are no longer dependent on the USSR."

Despite the three Baltic republics' stated front against Moscow, important differences mark their style and approach. Lithuania bluntly declared its independence last month and suffered most heavily in the recent crackdowns. During the Jan. 13 Soviet military assault on armed civilians at the Vilnius TV tower, 14 people were killed. Estonia and Latvia, by contrast, merely ordered Moscow of their intention to go independent after negotiations with the Kremlin.

Five people died during the military crackdown in Latvia, including four killed on Jan. 30 when the so-called black berets Soviet units under the nominal command of the interior ministry, attacked local police headquarters in central Riga. Since then, in Latvia, government representatives told Markov's last week that the assault in Vilnius, coupled with Lithuania's refusal to yield, had galvanised the two other republics. Said Estonian Prime Minister Edgar Savisaar: "This thing could have a ripple effect in the Baltics, too. But the Lithuanians remained steadfast and we, too, decided to put up barricades."

Now, Estonia is preparing to follow Lithuania's lead. Vilnius has scheduled a republic-wide referendum on independence for Feb. 9, and Tallinn has announced that it will hold a similar vote three weeks later. Government spokesmen in both republics confidently predict that they will win those votes. Polls show the ethnic Lithuanians who form 80 per cent of the republic's population, overwhelmingly support independence. And in Estonia, government spokesman Sergei Cherepanov, himself a third-generation Russian, predicted that the pro-independence vote would receive support among Russians who now form 30 per cent of the population.

In Riga office, sitting beneath a portrait of Lenin, Soviet army spokesman Col. Abul Karimov last week maintained that Latvian nationalists had beaten 100 servicemen during the past two months. Said Karimov: "In no incident, three young men participated. I found a soldier who was standing in a bus queue. After they beat him into a blackberry, they robbed him of his money." They added Karimov: "They chased him with a knife, saying that they wanted to see how strong Soviet soldiers really were. Thank God some policemen beat the soldiers for help."

According to the colonel, the Latvian gov-

World Notes

DEATH ON THE TARMAC

At least 15 people died when a United Boeing 737 landing at Los Angeles International Airport crashed into a departing Skywest commuter plane and burst into flames. Another 40 people were injured, but 23 escaped the burning wreckage.

VIETNAM FOLLOW-UP

About 15 years after the fall of Saigon, Congress approved a bill ensuring disability compensation for Vietnam War veterans suffering from exposure to the defoliant Agent Orange. The bill, which is expected to be passed by President George Bush, followed years of controversy over claims that the chemical herbicide, used to strip jungle cover from Communist troops, caused cancer.

A VIOLENT ACCIDENT

A Mohd Mohamed, a 53-year-old businessman, became victim of a car accident in Somalia after rebel forces took control of the capital, Mogadishu. Following two weeks of fighting against government troops, Mohd Mohamed pledged to form a government of national reconciliation. Said officials that President Mohamed Siad Barre, who ruled for 21 years, had fled towards the Kenyan border.

TERROR IN COLOMBIA

Colombian president King Boris lifted the threat of a renewed terrorist war against the government after President Cesar Gaviria announced a new offer of immunity from extradition and charges paid to drug traffickers who surrender. But the peace move, too late for Donato Tachay, the journalist's daughter of former president Juan Carlos Tachay, who was being held hostage by traffickers. She was held during a police attempt to free her.

FATAL EARTHQUAKE

At least 300 people died when an earthquake measuring 6.8 on the Richter scale hit northwestern Pakistan. Government officials said that rescue workers may find even more victims when they reach remote mountain villages hit by the country's worst earthquake in 17 years.

BALKAN BREAKDOWN

Yugoslavian leaders held cross talks aimed at averting a clash between the federal army and the independence-minded republic of Croatia. Croatian leaders said that they agreed to war by agreeing to dismantle local police structures, but they faced a new showdown when they defied military orders to enter Croatian Defence Minister Martin Sivagajic's allegedly planning an armed crackdown.



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1991 LIVE IN VIENNA & SALZBURG

THE

error: it also discriminates against the army by refusing to accept soldiers' children in local schools and by denying army families apartments and residency cards—documents needed to purchase food in local stores. But Latvian Vice-President Krasovs argued that the Soviet military abuses the housing system. Said Krasovs, "Some Latvians have been waiting for their own apartments for 10 years, but Soviet officers posted here immediately demand that we supply them with large, new flats." Krasovs added that the children of Soviet soldiers in rural Latvia did not fit easily into the schools. Said Krasovs, "We do have Russifying-type schools, but the country schools now only offer education in Latvian."

There is clearly a gulf separating Krasovs and Kotsmentov on the issue of Latvian independence. But the two men appear to have similar views on at least one subject: a united future for the entire country's black-beast units. Said Krasovs: "We want Whittmers to know that the Soviet army in the Baltics has nothing to do with the black beasts." Such statements have given the black-beasts a sinister image in unformed attitudes.

The approach to the black-beasts unit's base in Ventspils, a bleak industrial suburb on the northern outskirts of Riga, does nothing to dispel that sinister image. On a highway nearby, wrecks and a white wooden cross mark the spot where Robert Ilmarinen, a 28-year-old Latvian government driver, was shot in the head on Jan. 36. Doctors who treated the fatally wounded driver said the bullet had come from an assault rifle of the type used by the black beasts.

The unit's one-story barracks are located at the end of a sandy track behind a gate bearing a sign emblazoned with the words "prohibited zone." Inside the compound, in a spare office where he said he has slept on a cot during the past three weeks, base commander Vyacheslav Tsibulskiy said that he and his 200 men feared that Latvian nationalists might attack the isolated barracks. Thus, in a lengthy monologue punctuated by interruptions from a raging phone, the 46-year-old captain stated that the black beasts had not shot the driver and that the man had died of injuries received during a collision.

He also contended that the gun battle at Riga police headquarters had been sparked by someone shouting at the black beasts. In any event, the black beasts attacked and occupied the headquarters, then retreated to their barracks about six hours after shooting erupted—ending a confused incident that left four people dead. Both Krasovs and Edgars-Pavars Ministers Severinov expressed their reluctance to make political capital from these deaths or the 56 other fatalities that have occurred during the military crackdown. Still, others in the military know Krasovs' past. Vyacheslav Tsibulskiy, they say, that the violence has only strengthened the Baltics' resolve that they would make better neighbors of the Soviet Union than repressed inhabitants.

MALCOLM GRANT in Riga

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SOUTH AFRICA

'The end of an era'

De Klerk vows to repeal apartheid laws

At about 10:30 hours of the "African" and "Tribute to the heroes," several members of South Africa's opposition Conservative Party stormed out of parliament in Cape Town on Friday. The object of their scorn was reformist President F. W. de Klerk, who had just pledged to strike down the country's last remaining apartheid laws "within months." After order was restored, de Klerk continued, saying that he wants his National Party-dominated parliament to repeal long-standing discriminatory legislation that classifies citizens according to race, segregates neighborhoods and reserves most land for whites. But even as the historic announcement triggered excitement within the white-minority community, it clearly did not go far enough for many blacks. Outside the parliament, and in cities and townships across the country, hundreds of thousands of black protesters cheered to demand further change. "We still do not have the vote," declared veteran African National Congress (ANC) leader Walter Sisulu at a Cape Town rally. "And this is what our people demand today, to vote for a constituent assembly."

Still, de Klerk's address delivered just one day after the first anniversary of his announcement legalizing black opposition groups and the release from prison of ANC leader Nelson Mandela, was strong evidence by itself, many would agree, that the legal

rights—except for the vote—that white apartheid laws had created would be maintained against the country until democracy is achieved.

Even as de Klerk announced the sweeping reforms, he made it clear that the government could not hand over power until a new constitution was in place. And in a direct reference to the protests under way outside



Mandela (right) and De Klerk in a peace pact, and all the legal rights except for the vote

parliament, he warned the ANC and other anti-apartheid groups that "massive anti-apartheid campaigns resulting in disruption, sabotage and damage to the economy could seriously delay or undermine political progress." This would be a "great evil," de Klerk said, warning that continued opposition would result in so-called "emergency measures."

Although the speech marked a radical departure from the National Party's apartheid past, analysts noted that de Klerk's words included echoes of white resistance to total change. The president's hard line on mass actions, not against the backdrop of the ANC's demand for a 1994 as "the year of mass action," was one such echo. Another was his reference to group or community rights. Critics have often de-

cried that concept as specified in disguise, and they have rejected it as even a discussion point in the upcoming constitutional debate. And on the subject of education, there was also

a remnant of Nationalist ideology. While accepting anti-apartheid calls for a single education system, de Klerk said that there must also be provision for what he termed "distinctive or autonomous" education—in other words, right-wing whites would still be able to have racially exclusive schools.

De Klerk's far-reaching announcement directly disrupted another important event earlier in the week. On Jan. 29th Durban, Mandela and his chief black rival, Zulu Chief Mangosuthu Buthe, exchanged handshakes and hugs at their first face-to-face meeting in 28 years. In what Mandela called "a historic moment," they emerged from their neighborly parity to announce a peace pact in Natal province, where longstanding violence between anti-apartheid and members of Buthe's Inkatha party has claimed more than 4,000 lives over the past five years—and effectively blocked efforts to

bring a united black approach to constitutional negotiations. Despite the symbolic reconciliation, however, historic violence erupted less than 26 hours later, resulting in at least eight deaths.

Still, many observers said that they were encouraged by the week's stunning developments in Cape Town, where large crowds of black and white passersby gathered in front of television sets to stare warily to hear de Klerk declare apartheid dead: the mood was optimistic. "It's about time he did this," said 27-year-old ANC supporter George Mthi. "He's, uh, it's great, but I really don't think he could do it two years in a row." He was referring to de Klerk's 1990 legislation of banned political groups and the release of Mandela, and he added, "I'm even beginning to like this guy."

ANDREW KILGUS with CHRIS EASBURY in Cape Town

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THE 'HOLY WAR'

**SADDAM HUSSEIN'S
BRAVADO PLACES
ISLAM AGAINST
GEORGE BUSH'S
'JUST CAUSE'**



Almost two weeks into the Gulf War, the relentless power of the U.S.-led coalition against Iraq appeared to have cornered President Saddam Hussein's air force and ground down his heavy-weight army behind desert fortifications in occupied Kuwait. Iraq aircraft, rarely in flight as coalition warplanes attacked at a rate of more than 2,000 missions a day, had begun a pattern of evading to neighboring Iraq, Iraq's missile assaults into Israel and Saudi Arabia, almost nightly alarms early in the war, diminished in frequency and effectiveness. Hussein himself, who had been shown on Baghdad television in what appeared to be a bunker, seemed beleaguered. Then, last week, as a startling offensive on the war's 14th day, air-aided columns of his troops thrust into Saudi Arabia from Kuwait, at least those made that shocked Hussein's enemies and emboldened his supporters as the Islamic world.

Breakout: Western analysts ascribed slight military significance to the Gulf War's first sustained land battle. Saudi troops, supported by U.S. contractors and air power, claimed to have recaptured the deserted towns of Khafji within two days, although small-scale fire continued afterwards, but to a war that is an inch closer to an all-out assault, Hussein's leaders realized his reputation as an astute tactician

in the struggle for political victories. That contest was also couched in religious terms, at least implicitly placing the world of Islam in opposition to the Christian and Jewish "infidels."

Iraq's incursion into Saudi Arabia took place in the war's impact on everything from ethics to economics to religion. Iraqis and Saudis around the world. The struggle's religious political dimensions also threatened to broaden the conflict as a volatile Israel-Kuwait factor in Lebanon—holding Iraq responsible—and seemed Jordan's potential ally, with Iraq's military capabilities. Iraq—officially neutral, but concerned over a long-term American presence in the region—called for a ceasefire, insisting that the Saudi coalition forces should leave the region

and Iraq should withdraw from Kuwait.

Last week's land battle, although "hellacious," as one American officer described the fight for Khafji, were short-lived. The main Iraqi force pulled back from the city after a 36-hour battle about 25 km into Saudi territory. Coalition officers described the offensive as "a military disaster" for Iraq, without any strategic importance. But by taking the initiative on the ground, surprising his enemy and exacting casualties, Hussein may partly dispelled any belief that he was already beaten. Acknowledged Lt. Gen. Thomas Riffe, head of joint operations for the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff in Washington, "We have not written off the Iraqi army as a fighting force. We respect it."

After the battle of Khafji, American and allied planes intensified their aerial bombard-

Coalition forces; anti-American demonstrations in Amman (above) and hostilities



ment of Iraqi forces along the Kuwait border and reports that a large Iraqi armored force was advancing toward the Saudi frontier. U.S. officials later discounted those claims, but said that coalition warplanes attacked visible ground forces. Among coalition losses a U.S. AC-130 Hercules transport gunship with 14 air crew members aboard on an uncompleted mission. Right-wing 8-24, the Iraqis began be-

lieving of Iraqi forces along the Kuwait border and reports that a large Iraqi armored force was advancing toward the Saudi frontier. U.S. officials later discounted those claims, but said that coalition warplanes attacked visible ground forces. Among coalition losses a U.S. AC-130 Hercules transport gunship with 14 air crew members aboard on an uncompleted mission. Right-wing 8-24, the Iraqis began be-

Underdog: Hussein appeared to be underdog by the punishment of the forces that he commanded and the destruction that his destroyed Iraq's morale of electricity, water, fuel and telephone communications. During the attack on Khafji, he appeared on television screens around the world in a flagrant manner with Atlanta-based CNN's Peter Arnett. Describing the war as a battle "between faith and infidelity," he portrayed Iraq in both the underdog and the absolute victor over "the countries with the big guns and the countries with the dirty money."

For many Muslims, the leader who had been denied as a dangerous coalition when his army seized Kuwait on Aug. 2 became almost a romantic figure fighting the "Yah Arabi" war and Islam in what he has described as a jihad—a holy war. Egyptian columnist Salama Abdel Salama, who writes for Cairo's semi-official daily al-Ahram, and the Hussein displays "the psychology of the besieged—now only you who want to see it." But Salama said that the leader "appears to be confident and certain."

and "by comparison, [President] George Bush looks timid and fragile."

In fact, Bush campaigned actively last week, often evoking religious themes and patriotism, in an effort to rally support for his "just cause." In a speech to a gathering of Christian broadcasters, he said that the war embodied "good versus evil." Then, at an annual national prayer breakfast, he proclaimed last Sunday a national day of prayer for peace—and called on Americans to pray that "God will continue to bless the United States of America."

American displayed their commitment to the war with periodic displays, but there were signs at home and abroad of the political and economic strains that it is exerting on many countries. Analysts have estimated the conflict's cost to the coalition at between \$400 million and \$1 billion a day. For Canada alone, additional funding provided for Gulf operations until the end of March are in the range of \$2 million a day. Washington has lined up multi-billion-dollar funding from oil-rich Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, and has exerted pressure on Japan and Germany, whose constitutions restrict active participation in foreign wars, to contribute heavily. Last week, Japan decided to seek parliamentary approval for more than \$10 billion in military aid on top of about \$2 billion already committed. Germany has pledged about \$11 billion, including \$800 million for arms purchases. France was to contribute a substantial military strain in the national treasury. Germany's central bank raised key lending rates. And as U.S. counterpart reduced its bilateral investment in a measure aimed at stimulating investment to counter a deepening economic recession. Compounding the economic devastation already affecting much of the world, travel and tourism industry spokesmen, citing fears of war and terrorism, reported a sharp decline in overseas travel and bookings. London's Heathrow Airport, normally among the world's busiest, had experienced a 24-percent drop in passenger flights since the war broke out.

Israeli officials accused Palestinian guerrillas of terrorism at Hussein's behest when they launched rocket attacks on Israeli-occupied south Lebanon, Israel, and U.S. pressure to keep out of the war against Iraq, has narrowed the right to retaliate. And last week, Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin totally protested when Secretary of State James Baker and Soviet Foreign Minister Alexander Lebedev called on the United Nations to resolve the Middle East conflict. The Israelis seemed to lack a settlement of the Palestinian issue with a resolution of the war. But Rabin later told Israel that the proposal did not make that work, and Shimon accepted his resignation. And in a week when Hussein demonstrated a remarkable resilience under siege and when the United States and its allies showed no sign of waning a trust, the prospects of negotiating any long-term settlement of the region's intractable hostilities was much more remote than any rapid resolution of the Gulf War.

CARL MOULDER with correspondence agency

THE DEMONS OF VIETNAM

THE WAR MAY EXACT A HIGH PRICE

Dead bodies cover the bare black slabs of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial, which stands in a Washington jungle along an overgrown track. A few straggles include signs for the Vietnam Veterans of America, which says it has the names of 58,173 dead or missing servicemen and women. Some people have left their American flags or yellow ribbons at the base, although one man says, "There may be more tomorrow." The only visible sign of protest against the nation's current war is the Persian Gulf. One reader, Bob Goldinger, a 43-year-old architect from Greater Coney N.C., says that although he opposed the Vietnam War, he supports the war against Iraq's Saddam Hussein. "The thing he's doing, it gets my shoulder up," Goldinger says, clenching his fist at the wall, he adds. "I keep wondering if there'll be another wall for the Gulf War, and how big it will be."

To Americans, Vietnam is not just a place, not just a war. It is a national trauma, a nightmare of death and devastation that only recently ended when the last U.S. helicopters fled from the roof of the American Embassy in Saigon on April 30, 1975. The countless Vietnam bodies and souls whose lives have not ended it. Nor did Ronald Reagan's stand-off-America rhetoric, nor the minor military triumphs at Grenada and Panama. The legacy, and the pain, live on. "No more Vietnam," chiseled prominently against the Gulf War. And President George Bush responds almost classically, declares, "This will not be another Vietnam"—after deploying assault forces to seek a swift and sure victory. Even Iraq President Saddam Hussein has cheered up the spirits of Vietnam, saying that America cannot stand the blood of a long and brutal conflict. With the two sides fighting their first deadly ground battle last week, the question is indeed a haunting one: Will Americans, and their coalition allies, still support the war in the century count warily ahead?

Administration officials are clearly worried that they will not. Although recent U.S. polls show that between 75 and 95 per cent of respondents support the war, American political and military leaders have been trying to stave the public back of optimism that followed the Jan. 16 announcement of the retreat from Hanoi. The war they say may take several months and cost many American lives—possibly against a well-equipped foe who was willing to sustain 500,000 deaths in the eight-year, no-war war with Iraq. As the actual war's intensity continued its progress, Vice President Dan Quayle warned: "If we get

bogged down like Vietnam is a long, protracted struggle against Iraq, public support for the President will begin to dwindle." Experts say that Quayle may well be right, especially if recent American casualties are not accompanied by rising military victories. If they are not, and Atlanta-based pollster Claiborne Berken, "then both better live an anecdote to build his

and the Canadians have no ground troops—the possibility of casualties among Canadian troops, clearly requires federal efforts. Among the European allies, only Britain and France have fielded ground troops, despite strong support for the war in both countries—and strong popularity for their leaders—they could be vulnerable to the negative impact of a



In San Diego, 3,600 people forming a giant flag, arched in support for the war

high death toll. The coalition's Arab allies, meanwhile, live different risks—not primarily from the prospect of casualties, but from public pressure against fighting fellow Arabs. From the start, the White House and the Pentagon set out to minimize American casualties at the Gulf—and to maximize public exposure to them. Many defense officials openly blame media coverage for losing the Vietnam War by fueling anger without that eventually led to the American public. However, a 1989 U.S. army study by historian William Haverland attributed the military defeat and ultimate withdrawal to the government's in-

total to prosecute the war more vigorously. "What shattered the American public in both the Korean and Vietnam wars was not more deaths, but casualties," Haverland wrote. **Beliefs:** That is at least part of the reason that coalition forces have been bombing nervously to soften up the Iraq defenses before beginning a ground assault. But despite Haverland's not-quite settled on the issue, the U.S. administration has also been waging a concerted public relations war—a war to use the Vietnamese phrase, for the hearts and minds of the American people. The Pentagon has severely limited media access to the fighting, allowing only small, tightly controlled so-called pools of reporters to visit selected areas of the front.

As a result, most war news comes from military briefings in Riyadh, the Saudi Arabian capital, and at Washington. At those, U.S. officials emphasize the high-tech weaponry and so-called precision bombing of American strikes, often accompanied by impressive live footage. The officers provide an catalogue of civilian casualties, which they call "collateral damage." The Pentagon has, and refused to admit, no fighter jets, only command-and-control aircraft carrier in Vietnam and who, a navy deputy director of the Naval Academy's Center for Defense Information, is that "we're fighting a very clean war, with clear heads—we don't let people, we put our targets."

Pentagon officials are also limiting public exposure to American deaths—called KIA, for "killed in action." They have diminished the tradition of public honors for returning war dead at Delaware's Dover Air Force Base, clearly stating that the repeated TV images of flag-draped coffins would undermine public support. The general began recording the first home news broadcasts for Gulf War dead last week. The relatives of some of the slain Americans have, along with their grief, expressed consternation about the war effort. "I know what it was there like," said one wife of a Marine, N.Y., member of 21-year-old Lance-Cpl. David Spiller, one of 11 Americans killed in the ground fight at Khafji, Saudi Arabia. "I don't see my son doing that for nothing."

Still, some experts say that the general public's tolerance for such casualties may not be high. "The intensity of Vietnam has not faded," said Gary Omer, a professor of public policy at Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government in Cambridge, Mass. "The U.S. public is still troubled." And John Mueller, political science professor at the University of Rochester in New York, declared, "If we get several thousand dead, Bush is going to be a big trouble."

However, Michael Robinson, associate professor of government at Washington's George



A San Francisco peace rally that turned into a riot; soldiers could not stop it

town University, argued that the government is over-concerned about American public opinion—politics always determines how they will take care of itself if the war is there. To date, America has been swayed in yellow-ribboned, flag-waving displays of support for the war effort. In the novel base city of San Diego last week, 3,600 people, wearing red, white or blue T-shirts, formed a giant American flag that was then photographed from a blimp, with the resulting photo to be sent to U.S. troops in the Gulf. **Wide Net:** All Americans are so supportive. Although Congress passed a unanimous resolution backing U.S. troops in the Gulf two weeks ago, the initial Senate vote approving the use of military force was only 52 to 47. **Reaction:** In Canada, the reaction to the war has been generally supportive, although more muted than the gung-ho American. Two weeks ago, Parliament passed, by 217 to 1, a motion reaffirming Canada's backing for the UN resolution demanding Iraq's withdrawal from Kuwait—while not technically endorsing war. That cautious approach reflects public ambivalence, especially with Canada's offensive part in the war, which seems to contradict the country's traditional pacifist role. Canadians, and French Canadians, professor of international affairs at Calgary's University of Alberta, "want to be involved in the war, but also want to be seen as pacifists."



Bush: "what we say goes"

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Harriet Craxley, director of the University of Calgary's strategic studies program, said that

because the country has not fought since the Korean conflict, most young Canadians have no experience with war. "That's why there's so much questioning," she said. Even without the potential for high Canadian casualties, said John Wright, a vice-president of the Angus Reid polling firm, "these body bags begin to arrive here, there will be some emotional impact" on public opinion. And Wright predicted that opinion will change from week to week. "It's a volatile issue," he said. "Canadian mood are going to swing on this subject."

Waste: Still, many Canadians seem firmly committed to their positions. "I think anybody's involvement in the war is a waste of time," said Melissa Delaney, a 20-year-old bartender on Quebec Island, B.C. There have been antiwar demonstrations from coast to coast, including a Vancouver rally two weeks ago attended by several thousand young people. Len Hochman, president of Canadian Veterans-Veterans-Of-War, who was one of 23,000 Canadians to serve in the U.S. military during the war, said that he has "not reacted negatively" when he sees the demonstrators. "They certainly have the right," said Hochman, now a 45-year-old bookstore owner in Seattle, B.C. "But I don't agree with it because of the casualties on the fighting side." But Patricia Sharpe, a 43-year-old substitute teacher in Glenora, P.E.I., said that although she supports the war, she has struggled with how she would react if the allies suffer high casualties. "I haven't really come to a conclusion."

In Britain, where 35,000 troops in the Gulf, polls show that 90 per cent of respondents support the war, more than 70 per cent said that they would remain steadfast even if 1,000 Britons were killed. However, Col. Andrew Duncan, an analyst at the London-based International Institute of Strategic Studies, said that "perhaps people have no idea of the



Veterans at the Vietnam memorial, a troubled American memory

what casualties mean—and won't until the bodies start coming home."

At the moment, polls show French support for the war at 80 per cent, but there are marked signs of discontent in President François Mitterrand's Socialist party. Just hours after the allies began bombing Iraq, France's defence minister, Jean-Pierre Chevènement, announced that the country's 15,000 troops would not fight inside Iraq territory.

Mitterrand quickly reversed the decision and last week, Chevenement resigned. About 20,000 French troops were killed in the latter Algerian desert of 1954 to 1963—in effect, France's Vietnam. Predicted Mitterrand God-fraud a French national living in Brussels. "The Algerian experience will weigh on French residents to suffer losses in the Gulf, quickly removing France's stomach to fight if things turn badly."

But it is the United States that bears the brunt of the military's silence—and will doubtless suffer the brunt of its casualties. At the height of the Vietnam War, as protesters marched outside the White House, President Lyndon Johnson refused to state out the war and its place in the country. "Why are they doing this to me?" That pressure eventually convinced Johnson not to run for re-election. But in places, the high stakes of the Gulf War are demonstrated to triumph before the casualty count begins to take a political toll. Last week, addressing Parliament, Prime Minister Jean Charest, 41, declared "When we win, and we will, we will have gained a dangerous detour that the United States has a new credibility, and what we say goes." Clearly, U.S. officials hope not only to drive Saddam out of Kuwait, they hope to use it to drive away the demons of Vietnam.

BOB LEVIN with **JEN BARBER** in Washington. **JEFF MONTY** in Toronto. **EDDIE HALLACE** in Ottawa and **PETER LEVIN** in Montreal.



Levin's new status

not speaking to loved ones serving in the front lines. Said Marvin Kendall: "If I couldn't talk to her, I would be a lot more upset." And she would not have heard so quickly about his place in history.

JOHN BOWEN in Calgary

THE COST FACTOR

GULF DEBATE HEATS UP A TEST TOWN

The two splashes of color against the odds, only a few hundred metres apart, reflect directly opposing points of view. The bright flash near the entrance to Trent University in Peterborough, Ont., rose from what one group of students calls a "peace fire"—their symbolic protest against the Gulf War. Just east, just across the street, a line of yellow plastic ribbons adorned trees and light standards—symbols of another group's desire

to show its support for Canadian troops overseas. And one of the ribbons hangs, Thomas Barber, a 20-year-old liberal arts student. "I believe in the cause." At the campus, however, Ellen Skarabekas, 41, a part-time student and a mother of three who has helped to keep the small fire burning since Jan. 18, two days after the war began, said "I was proud of Canada's role before, as a peacekeeper."

That clash of views at Peterborough's small academic community is reflected throughout the city of 65,000, 135 km east of Toronto. With its university, its local business community and its handful of blue-collar industries, among them General Electric Canada Inc. and the Quaker Oats Co. of Canada Ltd., Peterborough has traditionally served as a quiet testing ground for national opinion. In 1979, the federal government examined the reaction to nuclear conversion in Peterborough four years before making the major investment in CANDU reactors. If it tried now to gauge attitudes towards the Gulf War there, it would receive a vividly mixed report. While Middle America loudly supports the war, the Peterborough mood of Middle Canada was far less decisive.

Local: For many residents, the issue is simply a matter of standing up to a tyrant: "A guy like Hussein has to be stopped," said David McIsaac, 44, as he took a coffee break last week from his job as an airline's shipping technician. Added McIsaac: "I really believe that the majority of Canadians support the cause and our forces overseas." At another coffee shop nearby, Brian Atwater, 48, pastor of the Reform Heights Bible Church, was shouting a quick "amen!" and expressing a similar belief. Indeed, Atwater: "Hussein is basically a little Hitler."

But just as vocal as other Peterborough residents who express anger that the federal government committed Canadian troops to the battlefield war, Timothy Dorroughs, a 40-year-old retired of the Second World War and veteran postal worker, said that he strongly opposed the decision. Denouncing the war as a local shopping mall with his friend, Frank Ford, 68, Dorroughs said that, rather than send young troops, "they should send those guys in Ottawa, Joe Clark would look damned good in



Trent students hanging ribbons support and protests

black, carrying a rifle and night up front." According to Fred, a retired storekeeper for General Electric, "Prime Minister Brian Mulroney is just doing what Bush told him to do." Peterborough's second-term mayor, Sybil Sefton, 56, was noticeably cautious in her assessment of public support in the city for the war. There was, she said, "a fair degree of rhetoric" support, but pockets of protest. Personally, Sefton said that while she supported Canada's role in the conflict, she favored opposition to the war "in some ways far more definable." And noting the intense media pro-

occupation with the conflict, Sefton said that support for Canada's presence could shift quickly and unpredictably.

Indeed, almost everyone interviewed by Marston in Peterborough last week expressed concern for the rising numbers of dead and injured in the war. That was particularly evident after heavy fighting broke out in northern Saudi Arabia between battles of Iraq troops and Saudi and U.S. units. But there was disagreement about how the casualty toll in

affected attitudes. Sefton said, for one, predicted that "it is going to be harder to hold on to support." By contrast, Trent western studies student Meredith Meade, 19, who opposes the war, expressed concern that battlefield losses may strengthen the alliance's determination to fight Saddam, noting that the more people that die on the coalition side, the more people will say that we have got to support the troops and the government."

Seifer: Cautious, then, were many residents who felt that the war should not be abandoned. Despite his own prediction that more than a thousand coalition troops will die in the conflict, shopping for new clothes said that he would continue to support the war. He added: "Once you have made a commitment, you have to be willing to suffer the losses, as devastating as that may be."

But opponents and supporters interviewed last week in the city of 65,000, 135 km east of Toronto, said that the government should have consulted more widely with the public—and Parliament—before committing Canadian troops. Said 35-year-old carpenter James Johnson, who supports the war effort: "There should have been a referendum, once it everyone said, 'Yes. They are just going to do it' was wrong." Usually, ordinary Canadians decide to debate both the means and the ends of their country's lethal decisions in wage war in the Gulf.

GREG W. TAYLOR in Peterborough

A CALL FROM A DESERT HERO

When 13-year-old Greg Kendall answered the telephone at his home on the Canadian Peace farm at Cold Lake, Alta., on Jan. 29, he was alerted to hear his father, Maj. David Kendall, calling from the desert, the Persian Gulf. Kendall, a 42-year-old soldier in Calgary, checked with his son and his two other children for several minutes but did not disclose the reason for his call. Instead, he waited five minutes by a hand-dialed phone booth on the Quiet desert setting for his wife to come in from following the delivery mail and return his call. Only then did he reveal that his last pilot Capt. Stone Hill had just returned to their "Desert Cain" Quiet home after flying their CF-18 fighter jets on a night patrol over the Gulf, during which they had landed on Iraq patrol boat.

That message convinced the first time in which Canadians had fired shots at an enemy in the Korean War, said Marston Kendall later: "He didn't make a big deal of it, except to say it was a chance to do something."

But she was disappointed that the episode had elevated her husband to the status of hero at the middle-school of his, fellow Canadians. A crew for the CBC's The Pres-



Kendall's new status

ent had been working the special access for three months—and happened to get approval to cover Kendall's mission for a documentary on the life of pilots in Qatar. It aired the next evening, showing various scenes of Kendall and Hill taking off, landing and escaping from a debriefing. By the end of last week, Marston Kendall had received as



Barbers Dennis Martin (left) and Jones at the Mug & Brunie. Flags and yellow ribbons

'GO AFTER SADDAM AND KILL HIM'

'MIDDLETOWN' SUPPORTS THE WAR



War was whipping up emotions as stark as the white foam that barber Ron Jones had smeared on a customer's head. "Saddam Hussein's a madman and he needs to be stopped," said Jones, 56, of the long pavilion. "We should go there and make 'em." Customer Donald Lewis agreed. Mocking the sound of exploding bullets, "Jaw, jaw," hitting his open palm with a clenched fist, he declared: "We need to drop the bomb!" Added Lewis, a tool tapper at a local auto plant: "Just like Japan—they lit the atom bomb. Then they should go after Saddam and kill him. That's it over." Although not all Muncie residents talk as militantly, the war fever that has struck the Indiana town reflects the overwhelming popular support for the Gulf War in America.

Muncie population 77,500, located 80 km

northeast of Indianapolis, came to national attention in the 1990s, when sociologists Robert and Shirley Lynd called it "Middletown" because it typified America's industrial heartland. In a late-1970s update of the Lynds' classic study, half of the Muncie residents unanimously agreed that the Bible was a "sufficient guide to all problems of modern life," while 74 per cent graduated to the United States to be the "best country in the world." Middletown experts routinely tell residents of the average American city to test new products. And last week, as U.S. soldiers fought their first ground battle with Iraq troops, flag-waving Muncie was embracing America's new war effort with considerable fervor.

Support: The signs of that support were almost everywhere. Town meetings start with a prayer for U.S. troops. A local baseball team wears American flag patches on its uniforms and yellow ribbons, symbolizing support for the 252 Muncie servicemen in the Gulf. Banners from trees and car windows in the child Indiana are. In fact, when Phyllis Zimmerman, a history professor at Muncie's Ball State University, called Black "tranny-baggy" in a newspaper article in *The Muncie Star* on Jan. 17, many local residents discovered her as bigotry

in its letters to the editor and demanded that the university dismiss her. "It is so unbecoming and so unrepresentative of our citizens," said Douglas Hoover, the director of the Center for Middletown Studies at Ball State. "Beavis call to kick Saddam Hussein's ass has a great resonance here and so repeat which really works."

Birthday: In the heart of the American middle class, where cheap gas is considered a birthright and many jobs are linked to the auto industry, there's no lack of support for the world's richest oilfields—and the assumption that Iraq has nuclear weapons—have hit a raw nerve. "A madman controlling oil preys on the American conscience," said university professor Warren Kunder Hall. "But the most frightening thing for Americans is an absolute madman having his hand on the nuclear trigger."

At the Fall Gospel Temple, the 450-member fundamentalist congregation collected nearly \$3,000 to help buy 60,000 pocket bibles for the frontline troops. Wearing a Stars-and-Stripes lapel pin, Rev. Donny Zickler, 49, declared: "The dropping of the atom bomb on Japan was horrible and many thousands died, but millions more were saved." Added John Hefner, the minister's 25-year-old son: "God is in control, not Saddam Hussein, and America is a country that God will use to destroy the evil in him."

At the Tenth's Lounge restaurant, most of the blue-collar patrons seemed to have a more direct course of action. "I am true America," said truck driver Carl Upphams. "Do something to me and 10 Iraqis ought to pay for it." Barman Robert Brown, wearing silver rings with skulls and eagles on his fingers, protested a long and gnawing war. "The U.S. has to be willing to sacrifice whatever blood it takes," said Brown, 42, who is plagued by skin cancer and respiratory problems that he attributes to Agent Orange, a defoliant used by the Americans to kill the dense Vietnamese undergrowth. He blames what he calls the "bleeding hearts" back home for the disastrous outcome of the Vietnam War, which cost more than 58,000 American lives.

That call for an all-out war effort echoed even among the 200 members of women—McMahon, Mason and Muncie Against Saddam Hussein. "I don't think you can put a price on peace," said Mary Lou Fabbry, 46, whose son Philip, 33, is a soldier with a cavalry regiment in Saudi Arabia. Another MASH member, Tara Long, proudly displayed a button with a photograph of her 23-year-old son, Mark, who drives a motorcycle, swims and travels to the Grand Canyon with the 24th Mechanized Infantry. "The next time we hear a report that I hear Saddam Hussein," she said. "Even if it costs you and every other one, Saddam Hussein has to be stopped." For many of the people of Muncie, according to plenty a patriotic duty.

BILLY MCKENZIE in Muncie



Russian Prince.
You'll find him in all the best circles.
Orange juice, tonic, tomato juice...the vodka that gets around.



COVER

'SEND IN THE GRUNTS'

FOOT SOLDIERS FACE A FIRST BATTLE



Staff Sgt. Mark Taylor, a U.S. Marine Corps instructor, calls it the "Top job suit." It is the new, say, Taylor calls young marines, why they have to stand around in a hazy time in a single morning the instructors for clearing away Iraqi land mines. "When you build up diggers in a big dig suit with only parts flying, you'll know what to do," he shouts. Taylor's language is thick, almost brutal. But his purpose is clear: his troops, and thousands of others camped in the desert of southern Saudi Arabia, are standing themselves to assault Iraqi forces dug in along the Kuwaiti border. After Iraqi forces launched a ground assault into Saudi Arabia and held the coastal city of Khafji for more than 26 hours last week, there was no more room for illusions. Ground fighting is bloody. And Taylor's job was to make sure that his men were ready for the worst.

The allied counteroffensive against Iraq

troops in Kuwait, if it comes, will be in sharp contrast to the air campaign that has dominated the Gulf conflict so far. According to the Pentagon, at least 36 coalition pilots are missing in action and at least 15 have been captured as prisoners of war; the rest have launched their sophisticated missiles and so-called smart bombs and returned safely to base—often with videotape of the attack. Coalition officers say that their forces have a major technological advantage on the ground, as well. But last week, allied officials said that 11 U.S. marines and four Saudi soldiers were killed in the battle for control of Khafji during the war's first ground battle. And although U.S. Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf compared the attack to "a mosquito on an elephant," it took Saudi troops, backed by Qatar tanks and U.S. air and artillery cover, more than 10 days to retake the city.

Costly. A coalition offensive to dislodge Iraqi forces from the bunkers in Kuwait would be far more costly. The currency of this ground war would be the lives of tank crews, young artillerymen and the rest of the force sent to break Iraq's defensive line. And what they would face is one of the most ferocious series of battles

Search for the attack at Khafji never costly

ever contracted the so-called Scud line. It consists of scores of missile, anti-tank, rocket, and other weapons that Iraq has just over 20 kilometers from the Saudi border and continue all the way in Kuwait City.

The results of coalition officials' tests in forward positions are testimony with maps showing Iraq's defenses in detail, the fruit of months of satellite and aerial reconnaissance photography. Looking up to C-130s, the soldiers' incentive for the day of the major ground offensive, U.S. warplanes are pounding the Iraqi lines in an effort to break their resistance. But on the ground, among the soldiers

from 18 countries, there is a stark acceptance that the war force will almost certainly not be able to finish the job. "When all is said, and it always does," says Specialist Scott Galt, a 21-year-old engineer with the U.S. 1st Infantry Division, his head bowed. Pvt. Thomas Schneider, 19, thought: "Send in the grunts."

Still, the grunts, the army's basic foot soldiers, would not be the first to enter the Iraqi defenses. That would be the job of combat engineers, including the marines being inserted by Sgt. Taylor. They would clear a path through the fields of mines laid by Iraq—hundreds of thousands of deadly devices ranging from antitank charges that can blow a 60-ton tank five feet off the ground, to so-called top-poppers designed to blast the feet off an infantry soldier. The engineers would clear a path through the mine fields with bulldozers and by using British rocket-propelled "line charges," which detonate a string of explosives across a minefield, triggering the mines harmlessly.

Hazards. But other methods are more basic and have not changed since the Second World War. Soldiers would use hand-held mine detectors and probe the sand for mines with wooden stakes. In training sessions they practice with empty soft-shell cans buried as the mine. In real life, it is a hazardous, painstaking work. "That's the war to be out there, playing Rummy," crows Maj. George Carroll, a marine mine expert.

In theory, coalition forces would then break through the Iraqi defenses by concentrating overwhelming tank forces at weak points along the enemy lines and then driving armor into the path cleared of mines. And along with the tanks come the bayonet-wielding grunts, with the most basic task in any military: to engage enemy soldiers at close range, overpowering Iraq's trenches and bunkers and clearing out any defenders who have managed to escape artillery bombardment. "In the last 300 years, it basically comes down to just young men getting in his fighting hole and taking the enemy before

he kills you," said Lt.-Col. Mark Brown, commanding officer of a British battalion in the 2nd Marine Division.

And when they move into Kuwait, ground commanders caution, they would do everything they can to avoid entering the vulnerable urban areas where heavily defended Iraqi positions. The last soldiers would ride into battle in the back of Bradley armored fighting vehicles. When the threat from Iraqi antitank weapons becomes too great, they would take to the battlefield last. Said Lt.-Col. David Gross, commander of a U.S. armored tank force: "The toughest thing for a commander is to decide when the tank divisions have to get onto the ground." He added: "I don't expect these kids to have to attack against positions that have not been held by artillery."

Rehearsal. Still, coalition ground fighting is the most intense and most terrifying form of combat. "It's scary," admits Sgt. Don Boudle, 26, told Specialist: "Plus we get our arms stretched out well like we're sitting a rat. When you corner anything, it's going to bite back."

Many frontline soldiers talk freely of their fear, something that the senior combat veterans among them encourage. Staff Sgt. Robert Campbell, a 45-year-old Vietnam Special Forces veteran, says with a burst of U.S. army combat engineers, and that he had some time when the young soldiers they were getting scared. "I was scared, I was scared as hell," he said. "But that's part of it. I don't want to go to the point that I'm not scared."

He added: "Being scared keeps me on my toes and keeps that adrenaline flowing—keeps you going in the right direction." For some, the pre-combat lesson is particularly hard to bear. "My biggest concern is getting as bloody," said Capt. Jack Hill, a 33-year-old staff sergeant with the 1st Infantry Division. "None of us has seen combat. Until it starts, there will



Send Iraqi soldiers: a stark acceptance that the infantry will have to finish the job

be a great loss of the unknown. It will be a right one we lost our virginity."

Ground fighting is also demanding for those not directly involved in combat. General Jim Fierman, the 34-year-old leader of an armored field ambulance with the British army's 4th Armored Brigade, will have the job of rescuing wounded soldiers from the battlefield. Last week, he was saved with a half-hour delay of

them with poisonous chemicals—so it did during his war with Iraq. "I'm afraid, no question," he said. "And part of what scares me is what I'll be like after it's all over. I will have some kind of psychological effect. I mean, I've never even seen a dead body before. I don't all the nerve trauma of it, that was mine in charge."

ANDREW PHILLIPS in eastern Saudi Arabia

CANADIANS FIGHT FOR UNCLE SAM

Capt. Robert Helly says that he takes a Canadian flag in every mission that he leads. His force, which includes a reconnaissance platoon, is part of a 46-member Canadian task force sent to assist the U.S. in the Gulf. "It's not like good luck—and to remember who you are," he says. Although he is part of an American unit, Helly, 31, is a member of the Canadian Forces, one of three such units being sent to assist the U.S. army. They are part of a 46-member Canadian task force sent to assist the U.S. in the Gulf. They are part of a 46-member Canadian task force sent to assist the U.S. in the Gulf. They are part of a 46-member Canadian task force sent to assist the U.S. in the Gulf.

Indeed, Helly, a native of Toronto, was in the Gulf when the war started on Jan. 27. He was about a high-flying attack plane sent up to coordinate the first assaults on Iraqi defenses. As a surveillance officer, Helly was responsible for running the radar systems that gave the U.S. force a crucial advantage over Iraq. "I'd of a sudden you found yourself in war," he said. "It's a little scary thing."

Pentagon officials say they have no idea how many Canadians are serving with U.S. forces in Saudi Arabia. But there is a small number scattered through the American forces. U.S. air force Lt.-Col. Michel Gagnier, 47, of Montreal, is the chief pilot of an air force hospital in Saudi Arabia. There he deals with a steady stream of patients having difficulty adjusting to being in a war zone. Gagnier had been with the U.S. air force for only two years before he was overseas. "It was not in my plan," he said. "But it's OK."

Other Canadians in Saudi Arabia have found even more ways to contribute to the war effort. Michael Bentley, a television consultant from Victoria, was employed as a forward observer for the U.S. army. Bentley, 37, was working on an engineering training with the Kuwaiti air force's technical support school when he heard he and other foreign consultants continue to provide information on Iraqi forces. He was sent to the front from their new Saudi base.

That air force managed to save 20 A-4 Skyhawk fighter bombers, and it now flies them against Iraqi forces with great ease. Bentley has a more direct combat role: he learned how to fire bombs for the Skyhawks. Bentley said that he knows the bombs are killing Iraqi troops, but he expressed no qualms. "I was first and foremost the boys were doing to Kuwait," he said last week. "It's hard to be a pilot in a situation like that."

A.P. in Doha



Patriot missile launcher at the ready: critics claim that Turkey risks retaliation and being dragged fully into the war

THE NORTHERN RAIDERS

U.S. JETS ATTACK FROM TURKISH BASES

Does the life of the nation is threatened, war is a crime.

—Kerem Altank

Although he died 52 years ago, Atatürk remains a powerful influence on modern Turkey, the secularized, West-leaning nation that he created from the rubble of the Ottoman Empire after the First World War. Portraits, statues, busts and plaques depicting the former president's somber features adorn the walls of hotels, shops, offices and restaurants across the country. And his sayings are still widely quoted as the guiding principles of a nation struggling to become a full-fledged democracy. Atatürk's historic stance that war is a crime has become powerful ammunition for those who claim that the current president, Turgut Özal, has made a serious error in allowing the United States to launch a powerful air campaign against Iraq from bases in southern Turkey.

Many Turks welcome the NATO deployment of U.S. and German aircraft to defend their country against Iraqi attack. But Özal's critics charge that by allowing U.S. planes to fly across

his nation from Turkey, he is risking retaliation by Iraqi Scud missiles, which could in turn lead the Turkish attitude to strike back at Iraqi troops across its southern border—and drag the country fully into the Gulf War. Süleyman Demirel, the conservative opposition leader and former prime minister, and last week "I cannot say that Turkey should not enter the war. It has already entered the war."

In fact, thousands of U.S. troops are stationed at the great airbase at Incirlik, on the outskirts of the grimy southern city of Adana. The pilots fly several types of aircraft, including F-111 tankers, F-16 ground-attack fighters and F-15 interceptors. They are supported by 6000 Iraqi command-and-control centers and 60-135 air refueling tankers. Several times a day, aircraft roar into the skies to bomb and rocket targets in northern Iraq.

Not because of intense shock involvement in the war with a Muslim neighbor, the Özal government seems anxious to develop the



bordering riots from Incirlik. Observers say that Adana has "invaded" the primarily secular Turkish press to limit its reporting about late elections, and it has banned the state-owned television service and Anadolu News Agency from returning to the base at all. Allied officers, in military levelings held in Washington and in the Saudi Arabian capital Riyadh, do not directly mention Incirlik either. The Americans reportedly do not want to embarrass their ally Özal.

Incirlik has heavy defensive deployments around its perimeter. In terms usually associated only by diplomats and their flacks, better-known of major intercontinental missiles are now converted early disassembly setting. As well, at least eight Patriot launchers, the technological state of the early Gulf War, dominate a ridge line. Each computer-controlled battery of eight launchers costs \$14.9 million, and each individual missile \$1.2 million.

Their presence, well-known to the civilian population because at least one Patriot was

launched accidentally in the opening days of the war, offers some reassurance to residents. Turks have seen the Patriot capabilities demonstrated in television footage from Tel Aviv and Riyadh, where they have repeatedly knocked down incoming Scuds. Still, the people of the Incirlik area are clearly worried. Many of them say that Iraq retaliation seems inevitable and that President Süleym Demirel may fire chemical warheads in their direction.

Mehmet Akdeniz provincial governor, Recep Şevket Özal, claims that the government has sent only \$50 million to be distributed among the city's one million people. Tens of thousands of them have fled to safer parts of the country, and economic activity in the region has dropped off dramatically. Local lawyer Hakan Batmaz says that he has sent his family members to Mardin, 75 km to the south-west, and only sees them on weekends. He added: "Methods in shaping an night. Business is terrible. Nobody is buying the economy is going down every day, and people are withdrawing their money from the banks."

The economic downturn is particularly sharp along the Incirlik-Alay, which borders one side of the base. For more than three decades, the town's shops have served the U.S. troops and their families stationed there with auto, food, the shopkeepers—Bob's Tailoring, Jimmy's Carpets, Elm Leather and Ali Copper Shop—say that business has dried up. Timur Celik, proprietor of Timur Phones, produced a new line of hand-drawn copper wall decorations to celebrate Özal's recent election. They depict U.S. warplanes flying towards Iraq bearing such slogans as "To Saddam with love!" and "Send us to Baghdad!" But Bob's Tailoring and Ali Copper have sent their wives and children home and seen the start of the war. They don't leave the house. Business is dead. Half the people in this village have left.

There are additional casualties in Adana and other cities in southeastern Turkey, where smaller numbers of U.S. planes are based. Last week Iraq's state news agency reported that Iraq had launched several missile launches close to the Turkish border, an action that many experts said would be a prelude to a retaliatory strike. At the same time, the Iraq authorities said to Turkey, Rafi Dahlan alleged at Ankara, that a different intention to the Turkish people. Declared the an-

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Military analysts stress the strategic importance of sites in northern Iraq, the Incirlik jet target area. The region is the base for many of Iraq's nuclear, chemical and biological weapons facilities, although the Americans claim to have destroyed most of them. The area also houses many of the weapons from which Iraqi warplanes have fired to Iran, as well as the im-

portant Kurdish state is established in northern Iraq. That could encourage separatist elements among Turkey's own 10 million Kurds.

But Özal's critics claim that he is needlessly endangering his people. Such opposition Democratic Left Party chairman Ekrem Karatoprak "At the end of the war, our Western neighbors and the United States may begin to reward us. But our Arab neighbors will never forget our policy." The most violent critics are the separatist groups have been founded by Mesut Yılmaz, the former prime minister, who has blamed responsibility for at least a dozen bomb at-



Fighter at airbase in Turkey; Özal (below) nobody sleeps at night, business is terrible



most all installations around the cities of Karaköy and Mardin.

In other developments, the Iraqis claimed to have destroyed a U.S. plane that they said crashed in flames inside Turkey. And Iraq Kurdish rebel sources reported that the body of an American pilot had been dragged through the streets of Mosul behind an Iraqi army vehicle.

Poll Özal has taken his country to the brink of war despite opinion polls that show more than 80 per cent of his people oppose letting the Americans use Turkish bases to strike Iraq. In the process, he is apparently hoping to ensure Turkey's entrance into the European Community by reaffirming its pro-Western credentials in the aftermath of the Gulf War. As well, he may try to convince Washington to reward him by re-equipping his armed forces—said to grant him a seat at the postwar negotiating table.

By Özal's own account last week, his main concern is not whether he will be to ensure that

death in the past two weeks at U.S. and other Western offices and installations in Ankara, Istanbul, Izmir and Adana. Damage has been slight and no one has been injured.

Mesut Yılmaz, Istanbul-based nationalist who also opposes Özal's policy have confirmed their activities to attract demonstrations. But not everyone among them undoubtedly has the capacity of carrying out acts of lethal violence. In the past 12 months, they have been responsible for 17 assassinations not directly connected with the Gulf crisis. The most recent of these occurred last week when a retired general was shot dead inside his home in Adana.

Clearly, widespread outbreaks of terrorism, inspired by Süleym Demirel's call for a holy war against his enemies, remain a risk at Turkey. Retaliatory Scud strikes seem less likely, analysts say, because America, with an estimated 100,000 Iraq troops bogged down in the mud of Turkish soldiers across their common border, would prefer to avoid a northern ground war. But the Iraq dictator has proven his unpredictability. And some Turks seem to be convinced that America might still strike in their direction, whatever the price.

JOHN BIERMAN in Adana

ISLAM AND THE GULF WAR

WHY MANY MOSLEMS SUPPORT IRAQ



street coastal city of Karachi, university students went helms with the words "Lone Soldiers, Love Islam, Hate America." At the same time, Saudi Arabian troops, after helping win the battle of Kuwait against Iraqi forces, invaded the same Islamic kingdom and the same God on their behalf. "Allahu Akbar," they chanted—"God is great"—wearing their rifles in the air. On Jan. 31, 60,000 Algerians marched through the streets of the capital city, Algeria, burning coalition flags and chanting "Victory to Islam and the Muslims." While Western governments portrayed the Iraqi president as a ruthless dictator and the cause of the Gulf War, popular opinion in at least half a dozen Islamic countries quickly swung behind Saddam Hussein—and against their fellow Moslems fighting with the forces of the UN coalition. As a result, some Western analysts predicted that the division in the Islamic world will have a lasting effect on the political climate in the Middle East.

Sanat Rashed Arsan, president of the Moslem-based Center for Arabic Studies: "The whole region will be a religious volcano for years to come."

With the war in its third week, pro-Iraq demonstrations had raised their voices—and their flags—in nations across the Islamic world, including Egypt, Jordan, Turkey, Algeria and Pakistan. Meanwhile, Hussein portrayed the conflict as a jihad, or holy war, because the Moslems (Islamic and Western alike) Those emotional appeals stirred strongly held and even Islamic beliefs (Iraqi Shi'ite cleric George Bush has tried to prevent the war

from becoming a religious conflict. But in addressing religious groups, he, too, invoked God and prayer in support of the allied cause, life and his wife, Barbara, also spent the night the war began at the White House with evangelist Billy Graham.

In a speech to the annual convention of the National Association of Religious Broadcasters, Bush described the Gulf War as a struggle between "good versus evil, right versus wrong, human dignity and freedom versus tyranny and oppression." Bush said that the struggle epitomized religious values, but that it was not a war over religion or between competing beliefs. Asked Bush, "The Gulf is not a Christian war, is it?" Bush said, "No, it's a Muslim war. It is a just war." And after 11 U.S. marines were killed in the Saudi Arabian town of Khafji, Bush declared the first Islamic act of the war, Bush declared that Sunday a national day of prayer.

But Hussein continued to insist that Allah, the Islamic name for the deity, was on Iraq's side. In a 90-minute interview with the Al-Jazeera-based CNN News Network television set, Jan-



or has God on his side is never defined."

Among the 1.2 billion Muslims, Hussein's prayer declarations, and his attempts to enlist the support of devout Moslems, incited skepticism and, in some cases, contempt. Muhammad al-Nabisi, a religious scholar in Damascus on the Gulf coast of Saudi Arabia, said that Iraq is among the most secular of Arab states. He accused Hussein of murdering political rivals, passing innocent civilians and embarking on the military conquest of a neighboring Moslem country—Kuwait—all across that. He said, "Islamic principles forbid Muslims to kill Muslims." Bush said, "Saddam has been known by everyone to be a disbeliever, a blasphemer. Then he goes on TV showing himself praying. It makes you shiver. It makes you feel disgusted."

Believers: Indeed, as one sign of the religious and political divisions that exist within the Moslem world, some Saudi governments declared that they were the true defenders of Islam and the holy sites of their faith. Before clearing mosque rooftops of their high-tech F-15 fighter jets to wage war against Iraq, pilots in the Royal Saudi Air Force proudly proclaimed themselves

and pray. "Whoever Sides with Hussein steps about a holy war, we are the ones who have been given a special mission by God," said Maj. Muhammad al-Jabbar al-Sayid in a letter. "Every time a Saudi jet fighter takes off, it is going to fight for the defense of Islam. Every attack we carry out against the Iraqis

The annual pilgrimage to Mecca: a heated debate about whose side Allah is on

came out in the name of Islam."

The war has brought millions of Moslems face-to-face with Allah in a profound and noble religious doctrine. Its basic principles and doctrines are found in the Koran, a sacred text that is read 114 chapters, which believers say is the word of Allah as revealed to the Prophet Mohammed. Praying Moslems follow the "Five Pillars" of their faith. They accept and repeat the creed "There is no God but Allah, and Mohammed is the Prophet of Allah." Moslems also pray five times daily by kneeling and bowing towards Mecca, the religion's holiest place, in Saudi Arabia. The most commonly recited prayer is the *Shahada*, the Islamic equivalent of the Christian Lord's Prayer, which begins with the words "Praise belongs to God, the Lord of all being." On Fridays, men attend a mosque for congregational prayer and a sermon. Fasting during the month of Ramadan, which begins this year on March 17, is obligatory, as is almsgiving. Every Moslem is expected to make a pilgrimage, or hajj, to Mecca once in his lifetime, and every year millions do so.

At Mecca: The Koran also describes in vivid detail the Islamic version of heaven and hell. Those who are admitted to heaven, primarily on the basis of their faithfulness to Islamic principles, are known as the "Companions of the Right." Their reward in the afterlife is a "staircase" among gardens and fountains, adorned in silk and brocade, according to the Koran. It promises that they will end up "such as they choose and such flesh as they love as they desire." Those who reject Islamic principles, the unbelievers known as the "Companions of the Left," are doomed to spend eternity in a blazing fire, with "howling winds and boiling waters."



Demonstrating in Jordan: enthusiastic supporters

of marriage, is also regarded as unforgiveable evil. The Koran encourages generosity towards widows, orphans, the needy, travelers and beggars. It also advises children to respect their parents, regardless of age.

Scholar: Within a century of Mohammed's death in 632 A.D., a great schism occurred, leading to the development of the two main branches of Islam, Sunni and Shiite, which still dominate the faith. Currently, about 80 per cent of all Moslems are Sunni, practicing an orthodox brand of Islam that adheres strictly to the shari'a. The central belief of the Shiites is that God appoints a series of powerful men to lead the Islamic community on earth, dictating correct behavior and social norms.

Increasingly, a new and potent force has swept through parts of the Moslem world—the form of Islam: fundamentalism. Millions of Moslems in a number of countries, including Iran, Egypt and Nigeria, have embraced a new creed and rejected what they regard as the pervasive and dominant influence of secular or Western values and customs. Perhaps the most startling dimension of this development for Westerners was the Iranian revolution of 1979, which Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini unleashed a genuine uprising and overthrew the U.S.-supported Shah of Iran, Islamic leaders claim that they took American diplomats hostage and held 52 of them for 444 days.

The rise of fundamentalism has underscored one of the underlying differences between the Christian and Moslem worlds. Previous Western historians, Bernard Lewis, a highly regarded expert on Islam, contended that Christianity had been its beginnings recognized that church and state were separate entities and the idea became firmly entrenched in the Western world during the past 300 years, notably in the United States. But Islam makes no such distinction. In his 1988 book, *The Political Language of Islam*, Lewis noted, "The principal function of government is to enable the individual Moslem to lead a good Muslim life. This is the purpose of the state, for which Islam is established by God, and for which alone



Prayer service: believers are promised eternity in paradise

28, in opportunity released Hussein, wearing a white lab coat, declared that he was utterly confident of victory. Speaking through an interpreter, the Iraqi leader said: "The allies were deluded the moment they agreed the decision to launch the aggression. We are convinced we have God on our side, and wherever



lems said that they were concerned about Saddam Hussein's regional government, and his invasion of Kuwait. Despite that, there was widespread admiration in the Islamic world for Hussein. Said Palestinian Senator Mubashir Ullah "Even those who didn't like Saddam Hussein saw his last effort to free his fellow citizens. There is a certain sympathy for the underdog here, the way he's been beaten up."

Jordanian journalist Kamil G. Khawar, a columnist with the English-language daily *The Jordan Times*, said that the majority of Arabs naturally support Saddam Hussein's takeover of Kuwait. But Khawar added that Hussein has now become a symbol of Arab defiance in the face of Western domination of the Arab world. The longer Iraq can hold out against the 31-nation coalition, Khawar said, the greater Hussein's support will be in the Muslim world. He added, "For most Arab Muslims, Hussein is the savior, the whole situation changed. The issue was no longer Iraq occupying Kuwait. It was Iraq standing up to the arrogant West. For all of us now, Iraq symbolizes the willingness to get up on our knees and confront our enemies."

Indeed, some experts on Muslim history said that Hussein was exploiting a Muslim solidarity that can be traced back to the founding of Islam by Muhammad around the year 610 A.D. Islam, which like Judaism and Christianity stresses its lineage in the biblical patriarch Abraham, emerged from the heart of the Arabian peninsula in what is now Saudi Arabia. From the beginning, it aggressively sought to convert people of other faiths and religious beliefs. As a result, many Muslims almost automatically clashed with Christians, who had become well established in the Middle East.

According to historian Lewin, the conflict between the two rival faiths has continued unabated for the past 1,400 years. "It has consisted of a long series of attacks and counter-

attacks, raids and crusades, conquests and reconquests," Lewin wrote. "For the last 2,000 years, Islam was advancing, and Christianity was in retreat and under threat. By the past 300 years, Islam has been on the defensive." Thus are now as estimated one billion Muslims in the world, mostly concentrated in North Africa, the Middle East and Central Asia, as well as parts of the Indian subcontinent and Southeast Asia. Smaller communities exist in Europe and in the Western Hemisphere, including Canada (page 33).

Principles. For many devout Muslims in the Middle East and elsewhere, Saddam Hussein is seen as a leader who violated basic Islamic principles by naming a secular government and repressing religious leaders in Iraq. As a result, Saudi Islamic scholar al-Azhar denounces Hussein's attempts to end the Gulf conflict as a holy war and to end the support of Muslims everywhere. "Now he is trying to play the so-called Islamic card," said al-Azhar. "But it is total hypocrisy." Added Montreal scholar Aronson: "Saddam is using jihad to mobilize support. But most Arabs and Muslims see through that. The regime has been conducting Islamic treacheries for years."

Still, as the war continues, as coalition bombs and missiles pound Iraqi troops and military installations, Hussein's message as a courageous underdog may grow in the volatile Islamic world. Said Jacksonville columnist Khawar: "Saddam Hussein's heroism is standing up to our enemies, Israel and America, appeals to the new spirit of the Arab world, a spirit that says we would rather die on our feet than live groveling on the ground." While the Gulf War is fought with bullets and bombs, sayings, perhaps equally important battle is being waged for the minds and the hearts of the Islamic masses.

DARCY JENSEN with comprehensive reports



Hussein: a symbol of Arab defiance in the face of Western domination

COVER

Muslims are given authority over others." The strength of the Islamic unity of religious and politics was evident from the powerful support gathered among Muslims, from North Africa to Central Asia, by Hussein's appeals and his actions. But the growth of pro-Iraq sentiment created serious political difficulties for many Muslim regimes. In Pakistan, a nation of 114 million where Islam is the official state religion, pro-Iraqist extremists, inspired American flags and carried placards bearing such slogans as "Long live Uncle Saddam." One religious leader, Mawlana Noorani, claimed that 1.14,000 Pakistanis had signed documents declaring their desire to fight for Iraq. However, the Islamic Democratic government of Pakistan, Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif has close and long-

established ties with the United States and, indeed, has committed 12,000 troops to the allied coalition against Iraq. Meanwhile, Palestinians living in Jordan, where they make up 60 percent of the population, and in the Israeli-occupied West Bank were among the most enthusiastic supporters of Saddam Hussein. With war raging, both Jordan and Israel tried to maintain tight controls over their Palestinian populations. Still, a group of Palestinian protesters danced in the streets of the Jerusalem capital, Amman, after learning that an Iraqi Scout missile had hit Tel Aviv on Jan. 19. "For us, Saddam Hussein is already the victor," said Abu Alwan, a member of a council of elders that runs one of the Palestinian refugee camps near Amman. "His war has become his has succeeded where all other Arabs have failed up to now—in beating Israel." Jordan's King Hussein faced a particu-

larly delicate situation as popular support grew for Saddam Hussein in a country that has tried to remain neutral in the war. **Hope:** In the Israeli-occupied territories, several Palestinians told *Maclean's* of their unreserved support for the Iraqi dictator. "Saddam Hussein is the only hope we have right now to liberate Palestine and help us get back our freedom and dignity," said Zuhair Suleh, a 29-year-old schoolteacher in Gaza. Added Jonathan Kurland, a West Bank human rights lawyer: "Palestinians had given up on their fight here, which occurred not in one but three life. Their hopes were revived by Saddam Hussein, especially by his missile attacks on Israel."

One of the longest pro-Iraq rallies since the start of the war took place in Algeria. The protest march sponsored by the Islamic Salvation Front, a Muslim political party, drew an

estimated 60,000 people despite heavy rain. At the conclusion of the march, Front leader Abbas Madani told his supporters: "The United States thinks it is the God of the time, but Allah has shown it is nothing." In Turkey, the war posed an agonizing dilemma for many Muslims. Although Turkey is a member of NATO and its government is officially pro-Western, many Turkish Muslims say that they oppose their government's decision to allow American planes to attack Iraq from airbases in southern Turkey. But they also told *Maclean's* in high esteem because the Saudis have provided financial support for an Islamic revolt that is currently under way in Turkey. Saudi funds have paid for the construction of mosques, the establishment of seminaries and religious education. Even in countries where grassroots support for Iraq appeared to be strongest, some Mus-

GROWING ANXIETY

SOME ARAB CANADIANS FEEL LIKE ALIENS



When they talk of how the Gulf War has affected them, they speak of fear, despair and anger. Then fellow citizens, they say, have become increasingly distant, mistrustful or openly hostile.

For many of Canada's estimated 180,000 Muslims, the battles that churn the desert sands have made them aliens in their own land. Said Khalifa Fawzi, an Islamic teacher at a mosque in Windsor, Ont., and a mother of four children: "People now think that everyone who is Muslim is a terrorist."

In fact, the war that began on Jan. 17 has heightened the visibility and the anxiety of Muslims across Canada, of whom about 125,000 live in Arab descent (as well, there are about 55,000 Christians of Arab descent living in Canada). Some Canadians still don't know what it means that they worry about family members and in the Middle East. Those who were traditional Muslims, clucking up that they have been the target of insults from passersby. Muslims in some parts of the country have been pelted with eggs and other objects. Iraqis and Palestinians say they were also offended by investigations. Minister Barbara McDougall Jan. 26 order that if they have Canadian visitors' wives, they will have to apply in person for visas and that no visa will be extended for more than three months at a time.

Negative: Spoken for by both the Iraqis and the Palestinians was that the action was discriminatory. Qasim Mahmud, of the Association of Palestinian-Arab Canadians, said that the restrictions may be legal, "but the way [the minister] did it reflects very negatively on our community."

As well, some Arab Canadians say that the discrimination is not confined to Iraqis and Palestinians. James Kellon, president of the Toronto-based Canadian Arab Federation, which claims to represent the estimated 500,000 Canadians of Arab origin, said that dozens of Arabs had complained of being dis-

tinged, questioned or photographed by Canadian Security Intelligence Service agents at demonstrations. Solicitor General Pierre Clément said that this is acting responsibly in trying to defend the government of potential security threats. But Kellon said, "The message from the government is, if you are an Arab Canadian, keep your mouth shut."

Still, Canadian Muslims refuse to withhold their views. In Edmonton, Tawad Chelbi, the imam—or prayer leader—at the city's Al-Rasheed mosque, said that on Jan. 11 at an Islamic conference in Baghdad, he issued a holy war against the 1% coalition of it attacked Iraq. Said Chelbi, who holds Lebanese and Canadian citizenship: "Saddam is a hero to us. He is a terrorist."



Worshippers at Toronto's Jami mosque. "We are your neighbors"

because he is standing up for his rights." To Fawzi, who moved to Canada 20 years ago from Saudi Arabia, the results of the conflict are most personal. She said that when she drives across the Ambassador Bridge to Detroit wearing a traditional Islamic headscarf, U.S. immigration officers "take me out for long as Palestinian, and I am not even from the Arab world. They want to question my whole car and they ask for two many questions."

Sayma-lam Arabi Garmas, a 29-year-old second-year student at the University of Calgary who has been in Canada for 11 years, wears the traditional dress of Islamic women. Since the Gulf War began, she said, "I hear comments like 'Look Iraqi' or 'Shoot them' or 'It

seems like they're Iraqis just as much as a victim of this war as they are."

Some Arab Canadians have had even more wrenching experiences. One of them is Nasser Serris, a 23-year-old Canadian-born student of Palestinian descent who attends a school in the Toronto-area community of Thornhill. Recently, she said, some of her schoolmates "have been calling me some names like 'terrorist,' 'murderer,' 'Saddam Hussein'—and kill that." She said, "Sometimes they call me the names for fun, but sometimes they mean it and I get angry." Said Donald O'Shaughnessy, a York Region supervisor school board representative: "It's an uncomfortable by-product of a much more complicated situation."

Abdullah Hakeem, the director of Toronto's Islamic Social Services and Resources Association, said that Muslims are experiencing frustration and despair. "This is a war that is taking place in the middle of the world," he said, "and it is taking place in the middle of our world."

Hypocrisy: Most Muslim Canadians, and Andrew Riggs, who teaches religion at the University of Calgary, feel that "there is a strange dichotomy of hypocrisy in the American position." They worry that Washington is not wanting an explanation of earlier 19th-century colonialism to withdraw from occupied territories.

Hakeem said that the war has highlighted what he called a double standard. Decried Hussein: "When people in Israel are killed, there is a war. There is no war when people in Iraq are killed." Arab Muslims, 25, a University of Toronto graduate student whose parents emigrated from Palestine, said that Muslims "are not going to bow up your knee because of Saddam Hussein. We are not the enemy. We are your neighbors." Canadians of other races and religions, and Muslims, should make greater efforts to understand the nature of Islam. "This may be happening all right, and the war becomes another in the reality and separation of the Arab world."

RAE CORLEIGH with DEANE BRADY in Toronto; JAMIE NEWSON in Calgary; MICK QUINN in Vancouver and correspondents' reports



Reconstructed gate of Hebron at Babylonian defilement could foster further unrest

THE WILL TO FIGHT—AND DIE

HUSSEIN CALLS FOR A HOLY WAR

From the start of the current Persian Gulf War, Iraq President Saddam Hussein has called on Muslims everywhere to support a jihad, or holy war, against the allies. Some Islamic scholars say that Muslims should support Hussein's appeal because it was the Iraqis, not a non-Islamic government—that governed the present conflict by invading Kuwait, a fellow Muslim country. They say that jihad, the literal Arabic word for "struggle," is a strictly religious concept based on the defense of Islam—and that 14 Muslim countries are part of the United Nations U.S.-led coalition. Still, many Iraqis Muslims trust that the Gulf War is a jihad, evoking the Islamic tradition that Muslims warriors followed when they defeated Jerusalem against a Jewish Empire. Crusaders nearly 900 years ago and, more recently, after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979.

Experts on Islamic affairs say that neither factor undergirds Hussein's response to the Gulf War is a peering for the Islamic world to recapture its historical greatness. Islam was first just of three major religions, after Judaism and Christianity, to emerge from the ancient civilizations of the Middle East. After its birth

some 1,400 years ago, Islam gave a power and velocity beyond the other two religions. But since the 17th century, the political and military power of Islamic nations has been steadily eroded by the advance of Western culture, whose children spring from the Judeo-Christian tradition. Experts say that history has levelled civilizational and religious differences and engendered support for any Muslim leader who strikes back at the West. Said Charles Adams, acting director of the Institute for Islamic Studies at Monmouth College University: "The history of Islam is part of those people."

Once Islamic scholar Bernard Lewis, chairman of the Islamic Information Foundation in Britain, insists that a jihad is "permitted only in self-defense or against tyranny and oppression—not as a tool to promote Islam." But, experts affirm, the ancient Islamic empires were built as much by force as by persuasion. Islam's founder, Muhammad, frequently used

force, or the threat of it, to unify the nomadic tribes of the Arabian peninsula. The caliph, who succeeded Muhammad as leader of the Arab world, successfully took up arms against the Christian Byzantine Empire in Egypt and the Holy Land. By the end of the ninth century, Arab armies had extended Islamic power from Spain to the borders of India.

Warfare: The apparent spread of Islam triggered a protracted conflict with the Christians of medieval Europe. With Christianity's boldest sites, including Jerusalem, in Muslim hands, Constantinople threatened by Islam in Turkey took Central Asia, the Byzantine Empire turned to Rome for help. In 1095, Pope Urban II persuaded European lords to lead crusades to take their ancestral disputes and, in the spring of 1096, a force of 30,000 mostly French knights and soldiers began the Crusades—a period of nearly 200 years of intermittent warfare in Palestine. Jerusalem fell to the Christians in the first Crusade, but was regained in 1187 by Saladin, the sultan of Egypt and Syria. The Christian nations did not give full control over the Holy Land until 1917, when Britain was administering power over Palestine under a League of Nations mandate.

Christians were the only threat to Islam. Armies of pagan Muslims swept out of Central Asia during the 13th century to conquer much of the Muslim world, but the Islamic Muslims who ruled Egypt successfully deflected Palestine against a Muslim leader led by Saladin in 1187. Two centuries later, the Ottoman Empire gave way to the modern Ottoman Empire, which by the 19th century controlled the Middle East, North Africa and parts of Eastern Europe.

Islamic political goals eventually succeeded its goals. The decline of the Ottoman Empire during the 18th and 19th centuries coincided with the expansion of European colonial rule. During the First World War, the economy of British soldier T. E. Lawrence (Lawrence of Arabia) fomented an Arab revolt against Turkish and German forces in the desert. At the end of the war, the victorious Allies redrew the map of the Middle East, leading to the creation of the modern nations of Syria, Lebanon, Iraq and Kuwait. In 1948, Jewish immigrants of Britain and France expelled the Arab forces who said that Muslims were the current conflict against the background of



Saddam religious fanaticism

300 years of domination. Said Salim: "I can't think of any Muslim who would not have sympathy with fellow Muslims being expelled from their own land. The religious factor became very important." As a result, even if the Muslim nations secure the peace against Saddam Hussein, the forces of Islam could serve to foster lingering anger over the future.

JAMIE NEWSON with DEANE BRADY

A BOARDROOM WARNING

In 1976, the *Sun Life Assurance Co* of Canada became a symbol of the Anglo-philic business community's defiant response to the threat of Quebec separatism. The company, Canada's largest insurance firm, moved out of the grand neo-classical office building in downtown Montreal that had borne its name since 1871 and transferred its head-quarters to Toronto. Now, as the intensifying debate over the province's future threatens the very existence of Canada, a new generation of Quebec-based entrepreneurs and managers is adopting a radically different approach. While a few leading businessmen have privately declared their support for independence—a view shared by as many as seven out of 10 Quebecers—many others say privately that they oppose a separate state. But rather than threatening to move, they promise to stay in the province and fight for a major overhaul of federalism—what warning Quebecers about the economic costs of independence.

"For the last 30 years, the debate has been almost and emotional," said Pierre Bélisle, chief executive officer of Levesque Brothers Québec, the province's largest investment dealer. "No one has had the guts to put the economy in the table."

So far, at least most of the province's largest corporations have refused from playing an active role in the public debate. But according to Claude Dubeau, head of the Employees' Council of Québec, whose members include 480 of the province's largest corporations, that is about to change. Bélisle, who also sits on the Bélisle-Campbell commission on the province's future, says that many of his organization's most prominent members are preparing to speak out at a time of reformist federalism. The company will begin this month with speeches by Senator Claude Charney, chairman of the Laurentian Group of financial companies, Raymond Goss, chairman of BCE Inc., Paul Desmarais, chairman of Power Corp., and Brian Nelson, chairman of Provo Inc.

QUEBEC'S BUSINESS LEADERS VOW THAT THEY WILL FIGHT, UP TO A POINT, FOR REFORMED FEDERALISM

Quebec's business community is clearly far from united in its approach to federalism. Only a handful of corporate executives supports the existing federal structure—a system that many Quebecers say was dismantled last year with the death of the grasped Meech Lake



COURTESY: NADIA

Office towers in Montreal: a new generation is adopting a different approach

constitutional agreement. The vast majority of business leaders say that the current system needs to change in order to give Quebec some autonomy and solve the country's economic problems. But they disagree about the magnitude of the changes that are needed—about whether English Canada will ever agree to meet Quebec's demands.

Even companies that are financially linked to each other have adopted surprisingly different positions. Colson Inc., for one, a Montreal-based food processing and distributing company, is 53 per cent owned by the powerful Meunier-Dubé family. Despite this, Québec's credit union organization, which has merged as a leading advocate of separatism, But Jean-Robert Hélie, Québec's president, says that he is worried that Québecers are rushing headlong towards independence without closely examining the risks. Hélie's stance: "We in the business community have not done enough work thinking about some very big questions. For example, what would the cost of capital be? I don't want to have to compete with international companies if I have to pay a higher cost to borrow money."

Hélie's concerns are similar to those expressed by other members of Québec's corporate elite. David Ardito, the Greek-born president of Peerless Carpets Corp. of Montreal, the largest carpet manufacturer in Canada and the fourth largest in the world, is among those who argue in favor of moderate restructuring of

federalism. He added that Quebecers have failed to consider carefully the long-term consequences of sovereignty. "What scares me most is that we are not sure what it will cost or how we'll get there," Ardito said. "The amount of investment coming into the province would certainly suffer. I wonder about a backlash from the rest of Canada. Sales of products with a 'Made in Quebec' label might be hurt."

Ardito's friend, chairman of the Montreal-based Montreal Bank of Canada, is another leading businessman who says that Québecers should carefully weigh the economic impact of independence. "People should require their political leaders to have very rapid, clear-cut figures about what is at stake," Hélie said. "And then the people of Québec will decide what kind of future they want to have."

Even so, many members of Québec's business community insist that significant changes are necessary if Québec is to remain in Canada. They express confidence that, beginning with business groups across the country, Canadians at all levels will eventually recognize that the country is too centralized and that more power should be transferred to the provinces. Said Hélie: "The country is in a bad shape. We're going nowhere economically, we're losing our competitiveness and our cost of capital is high. It seems to me that all Canadians have an interest in fixing the problems."

The degree of constitutional change asked for by business leaders varies widely. The Québec Chamber of Commerce, which is dominated by small businesses throughout the province, called for exclusive provincial control over 34 separate policy areas. The list, similar to one

made public last week by a special committee of the Québec Liberal party, included education, health, justice, communications, the environment and social programs such as unemployment insurance, family allowances and child support.

At the other end of the political spectrum is the Employees' Council of Québec. According to Dubeau, many of the council's members are more strongly federalist than the small-business owners who compose the majority of the council's members. Adopting a more moderate approach, the council wants provincial jurisdiction over immigration, vocational training and family policies. Said Dubeau: "We are for a decentralized Canada, but we believe that some important powers must be kept at the federal level. You no longer have federalism if you give all the powers to the provinces."

Many of Québec's senior businessmen appear to hold views that fall somewhere between those of the chamber and the council. The Montreal Bank's Hélie, for one, says that all areas in which the federal government makes transfer payments to the provinces, such as health and education, should be put under the exclusive jurisdiction of the provinces. These measures, he adds, would help to control Ottawa's debt—which currently amounts to more than \$15,000 for every person in Canada—and end the duplication of costs caused by overlapping federal and provincial jurisdictions.

Those in the business community generally agree on the benefits of transferring more powers to the provinces, but few of them are willing to discuss what will happen if Ottawa

Business Notes

THE DISAPPOINTING RECESSION

Canada's economy performed worse in November than in any month since the current recession began in April. It registered a 0.6-per-cent decline in the total production of goods and services. Still, Finance Minister Michael Wilson maintained that the economy will begin to grow again in the second half of the year. Earlier, Wilson told his provincial counterparts that reducing the deficit remains the best way to fight the downturn. According to Wilson, that strategy will help lower interest rates, which will benefit both consumers and business.

A WAR OF WORDS

A long-running feud at Air Canada became public when *The Globe and Mail* newspaper published a letter by Pierre Jeannot, who resigned abruptly without explanation as president in August. Jeannot wrote that the Montreal-based airline is "a leadership company locked in a process which could destroy the soul of one of Canada's great corporations." Now working as an airline consultant, Jeannot also accused his former boss, Air Canada chairman Claude Tardif, of making changes to the airline "on the backs of the customers and the employees."

RATTLE OF THE BIG SIX

For the first time since August, a bank broke the Big Six Bank of Montreal was the first to cut its benchmark prime lending rate. The Royal Bank of Canada reduced its prime to 11.75 per cent from 12.25 per cent. But the Bank of Montreal responded by lowering its rate even further, to 11.5 per cent. The drop prompted a call in the Bank of Canada's key bank rate, which fell for the sixth week in a row, to 10.75 per cent from 10.88 per cent.

SPINNING FOD FOR

Sound bites: LAL, the Toronto-based company that owns 259 AAA Records and Tapes stores across Canada, sought bankruptcy protection after losing \$7 million in the 1990 tax year on sales of \$115 million. President Garth Michals said that he hoped to attract a new owner to help restructure the company, which employs 1,700 people.

SUPPORT FOR CLEANER CARS

In a rare display of unity, Detroit's Big Three automakers have joined together to form the United States Battery Consortium. The \$44-million venture will develop advanced technology for electric cars that are intended to operate as effectively as, but with much less pollution than, current gas-burning vehicles.

and the rest of the country refuse. Investment dealer Bruce says simply that both sides will have to struggle to find a compromise. "I have enough people across the country to believe that the gradualists exist to reach an agreement," he adds. "But, yes, we are gambling the country."

Continuing to decline to speculate about Quebec's future if reform attempts fail, Deschamps that prospect as hypothetical, he asked. "You have to say, 'This is what I feel should be done.' I'd like work to try to achieve it. If it doesn't succeed, then maybe something else can be done." Deschamps is a high-risk gambler, because the business community's credibility with the Quebec public will be jeopardized if it first argues that the country's economic structure is so flawed that federalism must be dismantled, but then retreats later to support something closer to the existing situation.

In fact, many of the province's business appear ready to accept independence if there is no significant change to federalism. Says Michael Lord, publisher of the leading Quebec weekly business newspaper, *Les Affaires*: "They have decided that they are more willing to bear the cost of a loss of separation, rather than the cost of another 50 years of constitutional upheaval." Colner's father added that Oliverus has managed as financiers so poorly that Quebecers would have little to lose by choosing independence. Deschamps adds: "If the rest of Canada is not prepared to budge and they do not seem to be so concerned about the deficit,



Sun Life building: a defiant symbol

then I guess, what the hell, the thing is going down the tubes anyway. It isn't hard to try something new."

Indeed, some representatives of large national companies based in Quebec say that their companies might actually benefit from Quebec's independence. Percy Goodwin, chairman of Montreal-based Imasco Ltd., which owns such national companies as Shoppers Drug Mart, Canada Trust and Imperial Tobacco, said: "This is a delicate subject but if Quebec moves to a greater level of independence, my guess is that they'll be unable to keep their economic base and they won't be eager to do anything to assist us." Other businessmen agree, saying that Quebec will do everything it can to keep these footloose corporations happy.

Clode Kilborn, the president of the Movement des citoyens libéraux, whose \$40 billion assets are almost all within the province, said that the costs of independence are unsustainable. He added: "We have looked at the question of the value of a Quebec currency. Of course, we do not want to publish the results. It can be done, but I do not say that it will be easy."

While Kilborn says that he prefers a major restructuring of the federal system, he adds that he strongly doubts that the rest of Canada will accept Quebec's proposed changes. As a result, he says, Quebec is waiting its time trying to get an agreement with the rest of the country.

Other Quebec business leaders say that the economic impact of separation would depend, in part, on how the rest of Canada reacted. Perry Hladik, the chairman of Quebecor Inc., predicted that although Quebec and Canada might go through an early period of bewilderment, in the end they would coexist as "a happy divorce." But Hladik, whose company publishes four daily newspapers in the province and is the second-largest printer in North America, acknowledges that currently Quebecers' enthusiasm for independence is driven by politics and emotion, not economics. Said Hladik: "We will be hearing much more about economics in the coming months. Remember that Gen. Pélissier used to say that economics is more important than politics."

By contrast, Bruce, of Leverage Securities, dismissed the possibility of a happy divorce. Bruce, whose company employs 750 people in offices across Quebec, said that if Quebec declared independence, "It would be seen as an act of treason by the rest of the country—and treated accordingly."

Regardless of English Canada's response, many senior Quebec businessmen clearly believe that economic arguments will eventually prevail, although they may not stop the drive for independence. Deschamps' father says: "You don't make revolution with people who have two ears in the driveway and a color television in the living room." Perhaps, but all the signs indicate that it is already well under way.

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Hussein is no Hitler—he is Goldfinger

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

As the Gulf War escalates, the U.S.-led coalition's propagandists are finding it increasingly difficult to construct up scenarios vile enough to describe Saddam Hussein. How do you compare a head of state so disconnected from desert harem that he would neurotically order his army's largest oil well, now threatening to permanently foul one of the world's ecologically richest seas?

It's easy. The Iraq dictator is no Adolf Hitler, who at least in his very early days showed an occasional glimmer of sanity. No, Saddam Hussein is the first real-life version of a James Bond villain, specifically Goldfinger, the power-hungry agent in the third and best James Bond movie of the same name, who wanted to rule the world by corrupting the gold market. As ambiguously portrayed by Gert Fröbe, Goldfinger stopped at nothing, including torture, nerve gas, or atomic bombs and nuclear war, to bring about his goal.

Hussein like Goldfinger... got caught up in what he himself considered his noblest, a "race of obedience, the self-hypnotic desire to rule the world without for a moment considering the crazy wish to conquer might be Hussein's, of course, wants to achieve this dubious destiny by controlling the world's oil, instead of its gold. But the motivation of the two heroes isn't all that different.

George Bush and other Western leaders have stumbled over themselves deciding that they launched the war to protect their Middle East oil sources. Bush has repeatedly declared that the fight is "not about oil," but rather the need to defend democracy against "unbridled aggression." Most odd, Secretary of State James Baker, who asked why the United States had declared war, candidly replied: "If you want to see it up to our world, it's just... Does that mean getting work by going on fire ships against Hussein's Republican Guard should be considered alternate, equal-opportunity employment?"

Even James Bond's special-effects wizards never thought to blow up oil wells to obliterate the sun—or fill the sea with crude

The fact that the Americans moved into Saudi Arabia to protect oil rather than democracy is very clear, since the only country in the region less desiccated than the Iraqi desert is the Kuwaiti monarchy. As Washington commentator Ted W. Dyk, a longtime Democratic party policy adviser, has pointed out, "You can be sure we wouldn't have a platform on the Kuwaiti issue if the motive is the region's oil gains."

The Persian Gulf's huge reserves hold 63 per cent of the world's remaining petroleum, and the U.S. economy cannot survive without it. By occupying Kuwait, Hussein achieved control of one-fifth of the available resources. His expanded offensive against Saudi Arabia would have extended his control (sovereign then held the world's oil). If he carries out his plan to explode Kuwait's 600 high-pressure wells if he is forced to retreat, they could burn for 30 years, lying as much as 100 billion barrels of crude.

According to many top oil and environmental experts, that would spread a cloud over the globe thick enough to mask the sun's rays, raising crops and killing life. Even James Bond's special-effects wizards never thought of blowing up oil wells to obliterate the

sun—or filling the sea with crude—and Hussein has already ordered his desert Kuwaiti wells and several refineries.

American dependence on the Gulf is enabled by the continuing volatility of the United States oil and oil sources at home. Production of domestic crude fell by five per cent in 1990 and is now running at its lowest level since 1961, at just over six million barrels a day. Although it ranks, by quite a wide margin, as the world's largest consumer of oil, the United States imports at least half its crude. According to experts like James Gray, executive vice-president of Calgary's Canadian Hunter Exploration Ltd., this shortfall will rise to at least 60 per cent by 1995. No wonder Saddam Hussein doesn't want to make the world safe for Enloe.

In trying to fathom Hussein's real motives, Westerners judge his strategy all too often by their own values. That's not a valid comparison, especially when it comes to the worth of human life. Probably the clearest illustration of how little life is valued inside Iraq is the 1988 exchange between a spokesman for the foreign office of the United Kingdom and the Iraqi ambassador to the Court of St. James. The Iraqi had been refused entry Saddam's son had been refused the kind of access of Hussein with a lethal mixture of contempt and cynical power games. The British diplomat had expressed official shock at the incident, but the ambassador was clearly baffled and asked that the action should be questioned, explaining, "But they were our people."

"Other decisions try to take their crimes," noted The Spectator of London, "Saddam knows there is a value in committing them openly. His secret service recruits the bodies of its victims to their families so that everyone can see precisely how they were tortured to death."

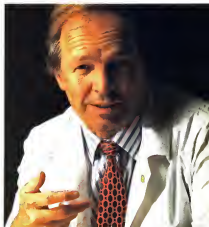
The great tragedy of the current episode is that it could have been so easily avoided. For most of a decade, not only Kuwait (which had refused an estimated \$15 billion) and Saudi Arabia (which offered to finance virtually all of Iraq's development needs) but Britain, Germany and the United States poured money and arms into Saddam's arsenal, hoping that he would defeat Iraq's Islamic revolutionaries. If the West had remained neutral and treated the Iraqi leader as a man who was only partly bent by the betrayal of his most trusted lieutenant, Fawzi Ghorab (played by Bruce Blackwood), who deserted his cause and joined up with Bush. Maybe Hussein was the savior, because he has recently been dealing with powerful friends in his entourage by showing them pictures of James Bond (Sean Connery) and by the betrayal of his most trusted lieutenant, Fawzi Ghorab (played by Bruce Blackwood), who deserted his cause and joined up with Bush. Maybe Hussein was the savior, because he has recently been dealing with powerful friends in his entourage by showing them pictures of James Bond (Sean Connery) and by the betrayal of his most trusted lieutenant, Fawzi Ghorab (played by Bruce Blackwood), who deserted his cause and joined up with Bush.

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PEOPLE

SOLO-GOING SINGER

American singer Susanna Hoffs says that going solo is a relief. As one of the Bangles, a popular 1980s all-female pop group, Hoffs explains that she spent much of her time trying to please the other members. Said Hoffs, 36: "With four singers wanting to be heard, it was a difficult dynamic." But even though she has just released her first solo album, *When You're a Boy*, her involvement with the group continues. The B.C. concerned about offending Arabs, has banned the group's light-hearted 1986 hit, *Walk Like an Egyptian*. But, says Hoffs, "It was never political."

Hoffs: difficult diplomatic relations



The Scud stud

War is hell, but for Canadian journalist Arthur Kest, it has had an unusual advantage. Kest's handsome and single *Star* magazine correspondent, who began his career at CTV, has become a sex symbol. Women have been sending him fan letters and telegrams. And employees at the NBC office in San Francisco made buttons reading "I love Arthur Kest" (Pat Club). At last count, more than 200 had been sold to people across North America. Kest, 37, says that he feels a bit awkward about all the attention. He says: "A lot of correspondents and cameramen are putting their lives on the line."



Kest: receiving fan letters

THE APPLE OF HER FATHER'S EYE

Victoria Bryner, daughter of actor Ted Bryner, who died in 1988, says that he influenced her to pursue a career in photography. Added Bryner, 28: "I thought I had talent and gave me my first camera. When I was 14, I shot what was around me, like the view from my room, the dog on the front next door." Now, she is photographing famous people. Her subjects include Elizabeth Taylor and former Pakistani prime minister Benazir Bhutto. Said Bryner: "My father was a great photographer with very specific ideas."

A man called Bull

Because he was in "so many bad movies in the 1970s," says Irish actor Richard Harris, he avoided the big screen for 10 years. But he has made a triumphant return in *The Field*. Made by the Irish team that created the 1989 Academy Award-winning movie *My Left Foot*, *The Field* features Harris as Bull McCabe, a Limerick Irishman who fights to take the great land that he has tilled for most of his life. Already, many critics predict that Harris will win a best actor Oscar. The movie, says Harris, was "the expression of ordinary people who represent typical men." He added: "The same man is in a state of mind. Northern Ireland and Ireland. We go all silently with land that is taken away." Harris, 46, added that he identified so strongly with the intense character of McCabe that "I grew a beard before I knew I had the role." Declared Harris: "To me, the Bull was everything, a fearless man who, a classic 'trape' terms, had a dark secret—was that would destroy him."

Harris: a strong identity with land taken away



TRIUMPH AND ADVERSITY

Composer Louis Applebaum says that although the *incandescent future* for the arts in Canada looks "rather bleak," his own seems bright. Next week, at a gala event, Applebaum, 72, will be named *Artis Person* of the Year by Toronto's Jewish community. Applebaum, who has received many honors for his work, which includes countless movies, stage and TV scores, said that he is honored: "This is the first time I have been the focus of a whole evening," he added. But the co-author of the 1982 Applebaum-Hilbert federal report on the arts expressed dismay about their current state in Canada and about recent CBC budget cuts. Said Applebaum: "We aimed to make the CBC bigger and better, not smaller and weaker. It's gone in exactly the wrong direction."

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Martin (left), Reimer: mocking the artificiality of the show-business capital

FILMS

L.A. follies

Steve Martin lampoons the city of angels

L.A. STORY
Directed by Mark Johnson

LAST YEAR, talk-show hostess Arsenio Hall asked Steve Martin when he felt he had become a star. After offering enough facetious answers to make the question seem ridiculous, Martin finally said that he felt like a star when he realized he could afford to fail—to make a bad movie without wrecking his career. He could have been talking about the movie that he was promoting at the time, *My Blue Heaven*, a lousy farce about a Mafia gangster as a witness protection program. His new movie, *L.A. Story*, which he wrote himself, is much funnier. It allows Martin to display his wit and satire. But as cinematic comedy, the movie amounts to less than the sum of its gags.

The *L.A.* part of *L.A. Story* is a treat: The movie offers what must be the most exhaustive compendium of Los Angeles plots ever assembled. A local nudist pulls a gun and says, "Hi, my name is Bob and I'm your rabbi." A traffic light turns green and reads, "WELCOME BACK." The *Story* part of *L.A. Story* is less stupor. Harris (Martin) works for a TV station as a weekly weatherman. He is attached to a vice, downer-than-drug-and-booze Thru (Marta Brown). And yet he lives on the border of an English journalist named Sara (Victoria Se-

nect), who is writing an article on Los Angeles. Their romance is slow to develop. Harris is seduced by an eccentric artist who spells her name "SaiDeeDee" (Sarah Jessica Parker), while Sara keeps company with her outrageous ex-boyfriend (Richard E. Grant).

As a *Californian* comedy of manners, *L.A. Story* is amusing. It satirizes the Los Angeles lifestyle with the authoritative wit of an insider. But as a romance, even an ultra-lite one, it never achieves lift-off. Oddly, there is no real chemistry between Martin and his real-life wife, Tinseltown. The film's narrative hinges on a relationship that Harris establishes with an electronic freeway sign. Like the voice from no high on the baseball fantasy *Fever of Dream* (1988), the sign sends Harris messages. It is a cute gimmick—at first. But as the comedy lurches into sentimental overdrive, the magic seems forced.

Martin spends most of the movie mocking the artificiality of life in Arsenio's show-business capital. Then, he goes in to his most local myth—"Romance," Harris concludes, "usually dies most deep in the heart of L.A." Martin seems to suffer from the same syndrome that used to afflict Woody Allen—the attempt to serve as a self-effacing artist and the leading man who gets the girl. It is hard to be both, even in L.A.

FRED D. JOHNSON

MEDIA

A magazine apology

Toronto Life settles in the Reichmann case

DURING 1986 and 1987, Toronto journalist Elaine Dewar travelled to the United States, Hungary, Austria, Morocco and lived in pursuit of an elusive story: the early history of Toronto's infamous Reichmann brothers. In November, 1987, the results of her research were published in a 50,000-word article that appeared in the monthly magazine *Toronto Life*. The article, which among other things discussed the period during which the Reichmanns' parents, Benke and Susanna, lived in Europe and North Africa, earned Dewar two National Magazine Awards. It also triggered one of the largest libel actions in Canadian history. In January, 1988, Paul Albert and Ralph Reichmann, and their Toronto-based company, Olympia & York Development Ltd., sued Dewar and *Toronto Life* for \$100 million, claiming that the article defamed their family. Last week, after three years of legal maneuvering, the two sides announced a out-of-court settlement had been reached. The Reichmanns, whose real estate and other assets are worth an estimated \$9 billion, agreed to drop their lawsuit, while *Toronto Life* said that it will publish a one-page apology in its March issue and make "a substantial donation to four charities" designated by the Reichmanns.

Details of this settlement were divulged in a letter Peter Herrero, publisher of *Toronto Life*, told Markéta that "there is an understanding among the parties that the terms of the settlement are confidential." A person with close links to *Toronto Life* said that the published apology "was negotiated over a considerable period of time. It will be a generous and complete apology."

The end to the prolonged legal action could leave *Toronto Life* in a precarious financial position. The magazine had exhausted its \$1-million libel insurance by June, 1986, and documents submitted by lawyers in a previous hearing in 1988 indicated that the Reichmanns had already spent \$3.5 million just to hire private investigators to interview Dewar's sources. At the same time, necessary conditions have caused *Toronto Life* like many other North American magazines, to suffer a sharp decline in advertising revenue. The settlement may have more implications. Some journalists speculated that it could discourage investigation of the affairs of powerful interests.

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A fateful contest

An author revisits the Conquest of Quebec

1759: THE BATTLE FOR CANADA
By Louise LaPerrre
(McClelland & Stewart, 305 pages, \$28.95)

I was a battleground of conflicting opinions. As the *Clarendon* Purse in Canada, Fitzpatrick held its first televised discussion, on Jan. 4 in Saint John, N.B., local residents and citizens at studios across the country debated the future of Confederation. Hosts the French was broadcasted Louise LaPerrre, whose newly published book describes a very different background, but one that sowed the

1759, as a piece in the military game of the two giants. But, despite his clear identification with the French-Canadian cause (he refers to French-Canadians as "my people"), LaPerrre obviously wishes to lay the blame for the subsequent disaster in French Canada at the door of the British. In an imaginary dialogue directed at Pottier's Col. Louis Antoine de Bougainville, who was Montcalm's aide-de-camp, he asks: "We had built something of value here, and now it's all gone. It's left in the rubble. The English at least stayed on. We owe you nothing, anything."



LaPerrre: a soul-stirring approach to a battle that changed Canadian history

seeds for modern-day discontent in Canada. In 1759 *The Battle for Canada*, LaPerrre connects historical fact with fiction to reconstruct Britain's Maj-Gen James Wolfe's capture of Quebec from French forces under La Gen-Gen-Joseph de Montcalm. "It is the most important moment in our history," writes LaPerrre, a former history professor at McGill University in Montreal, who now teaches a chic style talk show on Vancouver. "It is either in English or a French moment. It is a Canadian one, and we are all a part of it."

Disparate approach and sweeping scope, 1759 *The Battle for Canada* begins with conventional premises and moves towards unusual—and challenging—conclusions. Following the lead of numerous historians, LaPerrre characterizes the siege of Quebec City as part of a larger conflict between Britain and France. And he paints New France, strained Quebec in

"That strange rebuke of French military leaders at one of LaPerrre's soul-stirring approach to history. By adding personal details in an anecdotal military history, he gives an edge of humanity to the battle, while also delving into the human heart of war. In one passage, based on the diaries of Montcalm's mistress, Madeleine de Beaubien, he discovers that Bougainville had a secret affair with a young woman, who was a French-Canadian. "We had built something of value here, and now it's all gone. It's left in the rubble. The English at least stayed on. We owe you nothing, anything."

George Tenet's account a skeptical LaPerrre that Wolfe was "more ambivalent than the strategist, more loyal than the King, more pragmatic than anyone I had ever met." Apparently unswayed, LaPerrre tells his tale, "You are a weak," and continues his bias for other opinions.

LaPerrre's unconventional approach to history can be confusing. At times, the author's distinctions between the facts and his fictionalized, as when he describes a young man named Jean-François-Xavier LaPerrre as being merely "a prototype of all the teenagers who were involved in one way or another in the battle." But in several instances, the line between history and fiction, particularly when LaPerrre allows his Quebecers to get the better of him in an especially sentimental passage, he writes of French-Canadians: "We played hard and we played for keeps, were given good-looking and charming and pleasant to be with." In LaPerrre's approach to history, there is a place for pride—and even a bit of petulance.

LaPerrre's conclusions about the siege of Quebec, nonetheless, are usually unorthodox. Repeatedly skeptical of the English and French armies, he argues that French-Canadians must ultimately acknowledge the contributions of their English conquerors in building the province of Quebec, out of the rubble of 1759. As uncomfortable as his methods, that verdict on history is a provocative addition to the heated debates of a nation grappling with its future.

VICTOR DUBOIS

Maclean's

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- 5 *Unsettled*, Proulx (B)
- 6 *The Whistling Hen*, Eric (C)
- 7 *Complicity in the Gulf*, Alvarado (C)
- 8 *Gold Fire*, Kinn (C)
- 9 *The North K*, Pan (C)
- 10 *Penetration*, Spent

NONFICITION

- 1 *Week with Power*, Fox (C)
- 2 *Iron Age*, Duff (C)
- 3 *Business and Our Times*, Clemons and McGee (C)
- 4 *Homecoming*, Doolittle (C)
- 5 *The Great Depression*, Austin (C)
- 6 *Penetration*, Spent (C)
- 7 *Time Zone*, Schlegel
- 8 *Elizabeth and Philip*, Hynes and Madry
- 9 *A Use for the Wings*, Ryan (C)
- 10 *1759: The Battle for Canada*, LaPerrre

(C) Fiction best seller

Compiled by David Johnson

My Maria died.

A TRUE STORY



Maria



When I arrived in the Philippines so many years ago, one of the first things I did was to fall in love. She had fire black hair and she used to wear a bright orange dress. She had big, big eyes that would always listen to me, and when she smiled, it was like the world came alive. She lived in one of those tropical bays on the shore, the ones you see in postcards, and when she would come to me, she would run to me as if she was her legs could carry her. My Maria was only two years old.

One day, I was caught in one of those sudden tropical downpours and I ended up with a bad cold. Being one of only two foreigners on the whole island, I was housed into the provincial hospital with nurses to watch over me by day, and "watchers" for while the nurses were off-duty, and all the citizens and thoughtfulness that only the Philippines can lavish on you. After a week in the hospital, my cold went away (I'd had stayed home, it would have taken seven days), and I went down to find my lovely Maria.

But my Maria had died.

She too had been caught in the same downpour. She too caught a cold. But when she was lying on her mat in the corner, the wind blew through the bamboo walls and the bamboo floor of the postcard tropical hut, and the caught bronchitis or pneumonia or something terrible, and there was no money for medicines or the doctor and she wasn't strong enough to fight it. So while I rested in my hospital bed, my Maria was buried in her tropical island.

That was fifteen years ago.

Today, I met another two year old who stole my heart. Maria, I met her in the malnutrition ward of the provincial hospital where she and her mother had been brought. You see, Foster Parents Plan weighs all the little children in its partner families worldwide and they're growing properly, and Maria was not. She was slowly starving because her father couldn't earn enough as a market porter to support his wife and children. Maria's developed a fever and Gene, the community worker had her admitted into the hospital, at once. (Lack that Gene found her in there, before she died? Not really. Foster Parents Plan keeps a tab on over 25,000 little children every month of every year.)

I went to see her and to see how PLAN was helping. The doctor was fine, but just the beginning. Maria's mother had been to the Mother's Nutrition Clinic we run last month. We couldn't find work for Maria's father, but we were teaching him how to raise goats so that Maria and her brothers and sisters can get a glass each of fresh, clean, body-building, life-saving milk every day, and so that her father can earn a little more money with his new skill. And there's the older Foster Parents Plan's helping them put in next month, and the fresh water project in their village by the end of the year, and a few other things as well.

So, when I came home tonight, I couldn't help thinking about Maria and Maria. The differences between them aren't all that big. It's just that PLAN has been able to catch one more little girl before she slipped through our fingers and was wasted forever. And, of course, we couldn't be over here if people like you weren't over there.

So, if anyone ever tells you that helping through PLAN doesn't matter too much, you can do something for me, just tell them that what you are about to do is making all the difference in the world. All the difference between Maria and Maria. Help us prove that point today — become a Foster Parent. You just might fall in love with your own Maria.

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Too cold for even a 'technical country'

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

A least a decade ago, the world's most famous newspaper, *The New York Times*—and that stage will be reiterated in *Canada*—engaged a bright young man named Bill Borders to be its new correspondent in Ottawa. Borders, being a serious, well-educated type, was all its reports, knew nothing about Canada, but not an amateur. He therefore went to a world encyclopedia, to background himself on the basic demographics and statistics and relevant data on this strange clump of nothingness that was an hour's flight away from Montreal. To his utter horror, his eye spanned one fact: aside from Ulan Bator, Mongolia, Ottawa is the winter in the coldest capital city in the world. Borders, no dummy, immediately discovered the apparent strategy in Quebec and persuaded of his aggrieved editors that he should be stationed instead in Montreal, the clime of its restaurants suitable in his by certain articles whose identity cannot be revealed because of inept anonymity.

It is a measure of our current angst that the *Times*' interest in Canada is now of such intensity that its current account Canada man, a superb reporter by the name of John Burns, spends most of his time covering deputations at Afghanistan and other world hot spots—the paper having apparently decided (along with most Canadians) that this is, in one American commentator puts it, "technically a country."

Borders had it right at the first place. A country man by a capital this cold is not operable. A capital this cold which is trying to run a country is not functional. This conspicuous switch, showing out his board face as a local room as he types, runs out of the window a display of multicolored hot-air balloons across the sky. It is this close why they are aloft: fuelled by the supply of surplus gas exuded by such as Alvin MacFadden and Harrie Andre and Sheila Copps, the principal report of a town based on paraffin, hyperbole and abstraction—which could be the name of a firm, and probably is.

The season is the opening of Winterlude, a shrewd local attempt to cash in on tourist



delays by advertising how cold it is with ice sculptures and other folklore. American tourists, who cannot afford the arctic in Ulan Bator—and who basically don't know where a so-called good back to take home postcards from the spot that reads No. 2 in the encyclopedia to Mongolia, which has yet to sweeten a tourist before.

Serious people walk the streets here clothed as headgear that resembles the protection worn by peasants in the Gobi. Antelope-like. Otherwise charming. Gaily worn women wear the stress wrapped in scarves and woolen protectors that reveal about as many local features as the veiled females of Baghdad.

People who are this cold can't think properly. Which brings us to the congested Ottawa myth that Canada is basically a Great White North, not welcome for tourist mobility, a land where, basically, all the population is in the same fix.

This, as a matter of fact, doesn't happen to be true. Vancouver, you readers, must be left aside, since its suburban classes have relocated to still playing tennis in Stanley Park on New Year's Day, not to mention those disposable year-round golfers. But Vancouver can't be left aside. Nor can Calgary, where charmers turn winter days into spring in swift three-hour swoops. Toronto's climate does not leave the entire populace wearing parkas and resembling the least-as-civil servants, as does Ottawa.

The point is that Ottawa is not just another "typical" Canadian town or winter or another collection of hardy Canadian survivors. It is not typical of anything Canadian: a freakish outpost where the fragility of its transients into fragility of the mind. Residents of North Bay and Plouville may be as rapidly frigid as Ottawa's, most Canadians are not.

The serious Ottawa has been transferred to the active minds in Quebec because Ottawa tends to make governmental minds turn into shaggy Jacques Parsonsdancers about as his double-breasted, both, like Kurt Browning, leaving the first leading in his heels with all the grace and speed of Turk Beas. Robert Boscana, who has more money than Elizabeth II, is, not to mention Katherine Witt, is moved beyond the compulsory figures into a triple Axel that has the mind cramped.

The Midway gang of one, in response, fights back with Keith Spicer's Dead Poets' Society, a Soul that never landed in the fertile revolutionary volcano of Montreal, yes, see, there is an underground city halfway beneath the inquiry, is Ottawa, citizens: make more, be exposed to culture, raising the children—

known locally as the children.

This is a natural consequence of spending too many years in a climate surpassed only by Ulan Bator, not a simple chain of which has been recorded in having won a Nobel Prize. Eugene Whelan, resident awarded as the previous Liberal government, once said your acme for spring what Whelan once said, that the reason why Africans were in the fix they were in was because they didn't wear hats and we know what the hat was due to the brain, in Ottawa.

Whelan, in my disappointment, never abandoned apart to pursue his theory and my only wish is that some clever and exclusively rewarded lawyer on behalf of the temporary Prime Minister will raise a libel writ to protest this statement that the white-collarism of the book, in truth, do affect the efficacy of the mental decisions.

If I were him, I would cite it as a legal defence.

A king with no clothes is still a king.



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